

The University of Chicago

STUDIES IN EPIC TIME-DESIGNATIONS

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED
TO THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF
THE HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF LATIN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

1935

By

JOHN PHILIP COOKE

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Every ancient epic poet from Homer down employs designations of the various parts of the day or night to mark the progress of the events which he narrates. Some of these time-designations are very simple, as, e.g., ἄμ' ἡοῖ, mane, sub noctem, and media nocte. But the time-designations which are really characteristic of Greek and Latin epic style and which alone are considered in this dissertation are marked by periphrasis or circumlocution; they are used not only to mark the successive stages of the action but also, as ancient literary criticism recognized,¹ to "adorn" the poem. Thus Ovid, e.g., uses a variety of periphrases in place of the postridie or postero die of a prose author:

postera nocturnos Aurora removerat ignes (Met. iv. 81);
postera depulerat stellas aurora micantes (ibid. vii. 100);
postera depulerant Aurorae lumina noctem (ibid. vii. 835);
postera lux radiis latum patefecerat orbem (ibid. ix. 795);
postera sidereos Aurora fugaverat ignes (ibid. xv. 665).

¹See Quintil. Inst. viii. 6. 59-61: "Pluribus autem verbis cum id, quod uno aut paucioribus certe dici potest, explicatur, περίφρασιν vocant, circuitum quendam eloquendi, qui nonnumquam necessitatem habet, quotiens dictu deformia operit, ut Salustius 'ad requisita naturae,' interim ornatum petit solum, qui est apud poetas frequentissimus:

tempus erat, quo prima quies mortalibus aegris
incipit et dono divum gratissima serpit.

et apud oratores non rarus, semper tamen adstrictior. quidquid enim significari brevius potest et cum ornatu latius ostenditur, περίφρασις est, cui nomen Latine datum est non sane aptum orationis virtuti circumlocutio. verum hoc ut, cum decorem habet, periphrasis, ita, cum in vitium incidit, περίσσολογία dicitur: obstat enim quidquid non adiuvat."

This periphrastic type of time-designation was, in fact, so characteristic of the epic style that it was adopted by the writers of epyllia¹ and parodied by writers of satire.²

The conventional elements in these time-designations are obvious. At first sight, all of the ancient epic poets seem lam-entably alike in their treatment of dawn, sunrise, noon, sunset, etc. What is less obvious is the fact that, along with this element of uniformity, there is considerable diversity in the use made of time-designations and in the designations themselves. Ovid, e.g., as we have just seen, manifestly tries to devise several ways of expressing the same idea. Such an endeavor is quite alien to Homer, who uses ἥμος δ' ἡριγένεια φάνη βοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως no less than twenty-two times. Ovid's practice differs from Vergil's as well, for Vergil reveals an approximation to Homeric uniformity. Cf. Verg. G. 1. 446 f.:

. . . aut ubi pallida surget
Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile,

and Verg. Aen. iv. 584 f. = Aen. ix. 459 f.:

et iam prima novo spargebat lumine terras
Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile.

Such differences suggest that a careful examination of the time-designations in the Greek and Latin epics will contribute somewhat to our appreciation of the aims and technique of the various poets. Such a study can be made from at least three points of view:

¹ See Appendix II, pp. 120 ff. (The appendices are to be found only in the complete dissertation, which is in the University Libraries.)

² See, e.g., Seneca Apoc. 2: "horam non possum certam tibi dicere, facilius inter philosophos quam inter horologia conveniet, tamen inter sextam et septimam erat. 'nimis rustice!' inquires: 'sunt omnes poetae non contenti ortus et occasus describere, ut etiam medium diem inquietent; tu sic transibis horam tam bonam?'

iam medium curru Phoebus diviserat orbem
et propior nocti fessas quatiebat habenas
obliquo flexam deducens tramite lucem."

- a. The content of epic time-designations.
- b. The relation of epic time-designations to their context.
- c. The form of epic time-designations.

In this dissertation my chief interest is in the content of epic time-designations. Their relation to their context, which is closely connected with their content, is the subject of occasional comments. The formal element of the designations (i.e., the stereotyped phrases, etc.) cannot be treated with thoroughness apart from the formal element in ancient poetry as a whole and, since I intend to examine this aspect of the subject in the future, I have excluded it from consideration here.

CHAPTER II

THE CONTENT OF EPIC TIME-DESIGNATIONS

The content of the epic time-designations has been treated by writers on the Greek and Roman attitude toward nature.¹ Miss Katharine Allen's dissertation proceeds chronologically from Livius Andronicus to Varro Atacinus, devoting a section to each poet. Miss Allen notes descriptions of dawn, night, etc., when such exist, and lists the epithets applied to these phenomena by the several poets. Unfortunately, the epic poets of this period are, of course, extant only in scanty fragments. And Lucretius, whom I include, offers but little pertinent material, although that little is quite interesting.

Haefliger's dissertation deals specifically with descriptions of day and night and provides a valuable collection of material. He includes (see op. cit., p. 1) all of the poetic literature of the Romans from its beginnings up to the period of Hadrian, so that he covers Vergil, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, Silius, and Valerius Flaccus, rich sources of material. His main purpose was to provide a well-ordered collection of such time-designations and, secondarily, to illustrate aspects of comparative mythology.²

¹ See, e.g., Miss Katharine Allen, "The Treatment of Nature in the Poetry of the Roman Republic," in Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, Philology and Literary Series, I, No. 2 (Madison, Wis., May, 1899), 89-219. See also E. Haefliger, Tag und Nacht bei den römischen Dichtern (Lucerne, 1903).

² Op. cit., p. 1, "Der Hauptzweck der Dissertation ist, eine übersichtliche Zusammenstellung des poetischen Apparates zu geben, den die Dichter in Scene setzten, um die verschiedenen Momente des Tages und der Nacht zu schildern."

His arrangement is simple in its main outlines and follows the course of the day step by step:¹

- I. The morning, pp. 9-53.
 - a. Lucifer, 9-15.
 - b. Aurora, 16-32.
 - c. Sol, 32-51.
 - d. Other designations for the morning, 51-53.
- II. Daytime proper, 53-61.
- III. The evening, 62-73.

Subdivision. The dusk (Dämmerung), 72 f.
- IV. The night, 74-111.
 - a. Place at which it rises, 74-76.
 - b. Counting by nights, 76-78.
 - c. Description of the night, 78-91.
 - d. The stars, 91-98.
 - e. Attributes and transferred uses, 98-104.
 - f. The moon, 105-9.
 - g. The cockerow, 109-11.

Under each of these divisions there are numerous subdivisions. E.g., under I. c., Haefliger lists the color-words applied to the sun, albus, candidus, pallidus, aureus, and so on, and under each of these adjectives, in turn, illustrative passages are cited or quoted. The number of subheads thus becomes enormous and a trifle confusing. Some of them seem unnecessary in a treatment of the Roman attitude toward nature; e.g., the fact that nox is used to denote physical and mental blindness, ignorance, forgetfulness,

¹Op. cit., p. 2, "Die Einteilung ist insofern eine natürliche, als sie dem Gange des Tages folgt und zuerst den Morgen und dann die Erscheinungen des Mittags, des Abends und der Nacht schildert. Es ist dies zwar ein rein ausserliches Princip der Anordnung, aber es schien mir das einfachste und das übersichtlichste zu sein."

death, and the like (see op. cit., pp. 102-4) is unimportant in this connection.

Secondly, any individual differences in usage that may exist among the Latin poets disappear.

Thirdly, this dissertation, like nearly all such discussions of the Roman (or Greek) attitude toward nature, suffers from its failure to take into consideration the importance of two factors which affect all ancient poetry from Homer down, viz., (a) imitation (or tradition) and (b) metrical exigencies.

But, granted the usefulness of such compilations of passages touching upon the objective phenomena of nature, Haeffliger's affords a very helpful store of facts.

More in line with my own treatment is R. Preiswerk's short essay, "Der Morgen in der griechischen und römischen Dichtung."¹ Preiswerk is concerned solely with the descriptions of morning and his treatment, as he is aware, is very sketchy, but his article has the merit of including both Greek and Latin poetry, of embracing a wide variety of poets from Homer to St. Ambrose, and, above all, of indicating differences in the way in which the various poets develop the morning theme.

METHOD OF CLASSIFYING TIME-DESIGNATIONS

The first step in the discussion of the content of the time-designations in ancient epic poetry must be the establishment of a satisfactory method of classifying them in such a way that we may have some fairly definite criterion for judging the practice of the individual poets. After examination of many passages from several authors and consideration of other possible

¹Wiener Blätter für die Freunde der Antike, I (1922), 101-5.

arrangements, I decided that the following general classification would be best for our purpose.

I. Mythological

Time is determined by the actions of anthropomorphic deities. A good example is Hom. Il. xi. 1 f.:

Ἡὼς δ' ἐκ λεχέων παρ' ἀγαυοῦ Τιθωνοῖο
ῥρυσθ', ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι φάος φέροι ἡδὲ βροτοῖσι.

NOTE.--I include in this class many passages in which time is determined by the position or movement of stars. Some time-designations of this sort are largely descriptive; but in so far as the stars or constellations are personalized--and star-myths are common in ancient poetry--they fall under the general mythological category.

II. Human Experience

A. Human Experience of Natural Phenomena

Time is determined by various phenomena of the natural world that men have observed throughout the ages. The cold, the dew, and the bird-cries of early morning, the heat and drought of noontide, the dead calm of midnight, etc., fall under this category as well as variations in light and color. One might, perhaps, call these time-designations "sensuous," but this would tend to imply that the poets were endeavoring either to portray some aesthetic feeling of their own or to produce a similar feeling in the mind of the reader. No doubt there are traces of the romantic attitude toward nature in ancient literature,¹ but it is dangerous to try to detect such an attitude in epic time-designa-

¹ See, e.g., S. H. Butcher, "The Dawn of Romanticism in Greek Poetry," in Some Aspects of the Greek Genius (London, 1916), pp. 245-324.

tions, in which conventional elements play so large a role. "Das selbständige Morgenlied ist der antiken Dichtung sozusagen fremd," observes Preiswerk,¹ and even Haefliger, who is deeply interested in the Roman feeling for nature, has to confess his inability to discover any extensive description of a sunrise or sunset in the Latin poetry of the long period included in his dissertation.² To be sure, Haefliger contends that the Romans observed nature carefully even though they were largely wanting in the modern romantic feeling for it (op. cit., p. 8). "Sensuous," however, inasmuch as it implies the attitude of, let us say, a Shelley, does not describe the function of the time-designations included under this category; it is safer, therefore, to regard them as products of human experience of natural phenomena, the outgrowth of ages when there were no clocks. A good example is Lucr. ii. 144 ff.:

primum aurora novo cum spargit lumine terras
et variae volucres nemora avia pervolitantes
aera per tenerum liquidis loca vocibus opplent.

B. Human Activities

Time may be determined with reference to activities of man himself, especially those which recur at approximately the same part of each day. A simple example is Hom. Od. xiv. 407: $\nu\upsilon\nu\ \delta'\ \delta\rho\eta\ \delta\delta\rho\pi\omicron\iota\omicron$.

The classification proposed above will, I believe, provide a convenient method of grouping the hundreds of time-designations which occur in the ancient epics, assuming that our interest is

¹Op. cit., p. 101.

²Op. cit., p. 7: "Merkwürdig bleibt es aber doch, dass wir in der ganzen poetischen Literatur der Römer von ihren Anfängen bis auf Hadrian nirgends einer grössern Schilderung des Sonnenauf- oder Sonnenunterganges begegnen. Wenn ein solcher erwähnt wird, so geschieht es gewöhnlich in wenigen Versen, oder dann ist es eine Parade mythologischer Gelehrsamkeit, wobei selbstverständlich für die ästhetische Empfindung kein Raum mehr vorhanden ist."

not in their details but in their reflection of the peculiar genius of the several authors, their close adherence to poetic tradition, their attempts to impart variety to hackneyed motives, or their efforts to explore new paths.

No classification of material so extensive and so diversified can be wholly satisfactory, as even a momentary consideration will show. For instance, let us take what is perhaps the best known of all these time-designations, Homer's ἥμος δ' ἡριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς. In my discussion below of the Homeric material I classify this as mythological. Dawn (Eos) is conceived anthropomorphically as a woman with rosy fingers. ῥοδοδάκτυλος may have been applied to Eos because in the Greek sky the sunrise is heralded by broad rosy stripes, which were compared to the fingers of an outstretched hand; or it may originally have been a general epithet of female beauty.¹ But in either case it is anthropomorphic and establishes the mythological character of Eos. However, Eos' fingers are rosy. Thus into this mythological time-designation there enters an element of man's experience of the world about him, of roses and of a color prominent in the sky before sunrise. In this particular passage the element derived from human experience plays a distinctly subordinate part; it is but a part of a formula.² But in some passages diverse elements are found in such equal proportions that it is difficult to force them into any single category. Either we must classify their disiecta membra separately or we must be content to call such time-designations "composite."

But although such difficulties are inevitable in dealing

¹ Ameis-Hentze, Anhang zu Homers Odyssee (Leipzig, 1890), Heft 1, p. 48.

² ῥοδοδάκτυλος occurs only with Ἠώς in Homer.

with material that is so complex and although decision as to the nature of many individual passages must doubtless remain very subjective, still the adoption of the classification suggested above will, I believe, enable us to reach valid conclusions as to the general content of the time-designations of the several poets.

SCOPE OF DISSERTATION

My discussion includes all epic poetry from Homer to Nonnus in Greek and from Ennius to Corippus in Latin. I have included the extant epyllia and widened the term "epic" enough to include such an author as Lucretius. Finally, I have included such Christian authors as Juvenius, Avitus, and Sedulius.

CHAPTER III

HOMER

The majority of the Homeric time-designations are mythological. Though this is fairly obvious, it may be well to set down the more important evidence on which this conclusion rests.

I. Mythological Designations

A. The morning star.--The morning star appears in Il. xxi. 226:

ἦμος δ' ἑωσφόρος εἴσι φῶς ἑρέων ἐπὶ γαίαν,

and Od. xiii. 93 f.:

εὖτ' ἀστὴρ ὑπερέσχε φαάντατος, ὃς τε μάλιστα
ἔρχεται ἀγγέλλων φῶς Ἑοῦς ἠριγενείης.

In neither passage, it must be admitted, is the mythological conception well marked.

B. Dawn.--As Preiswerk points out, dawn (Eos) is far more important in Homer than the sunrise, and the conception of dawn is nearly always anthropomorphic, i.e., mythological.¹ Eos is a beautiful goddess, rosy-fingered, clad in a saffron peplos, with a thronos of gold, who rises from Tithonus' side every morning, quits Oceanus, and speeds into the sky to herald or carry light for gods and men. See Il. ii. 48 f.:

¹
Op. cit., p. 102: "Aber in der Regel lässt Homer den Tag mit der Morgenröte beginnen, ein Beweis für die natürliche Lebensweise seiner Menschen. Auch unser Landvolk geht vor Sonnenaufgang an seine Arbeit; vollends aber muss der Südländer die kühlen Morgenstunden ausnützen. . . . Meistens ist sie [sc. Eos] durchaus als Person gedacht."

Ἡὼς μὲν ῥα θεᾷ προσεβήσεται μακρὸν Ὀλυμπόν
Ζηνὶ φῶς ἐρέουσα καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισιν,

Il. xix. 1 f.:

Ἡὼς μὲν κροκόπεπλος ἀπ' Ὠκεανοῦ ῥοάων
ὤρνυθ', Ἴν' ἀθανάτοισι φῶς φέροι ἡδὲ βροτοῖσιν,

Il. xi. 1 f. (= Od. v. 1 f.):

Ἡὼς δ' ἐκ λεχέων παρ' ἀγαυοῦ Τιθωνοῖο
ὤρνυθ', Ἴν' ἀθανάτοισι φῶς φέροι ἡδὲ βροτοῖσι,

Il. i. 477:

ἦμος δ' ἡριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἡώς.

This line occurs twenty-two times in Homer. See also Il. ix. 707;
xxiii. 109; Od. xxiii. 241. See, too, Od. xxiii. 347 f.:

αὐτίκ' ἀπ' Ὠκεανοῦ χρυσόθρονον ἡριγένειαν
ᾤρσεν, Ἴν' ἀνθρώποισι φῶς φέροι.

In one passage Eos even has a biga (Od. xxiii. 243-46):

νύκτα μὲν ἐν περάτῃ δολιχὴν σχέθεν, Ἡὼ δ' αὖτε
ῥύσας' ἐπ' Ὠκεανῷ χρυσόθρονον, οὐδ' ἔα ἵππους
ζεῦγνυσθ' ὠκύποδας, φάος ἀνθρώποισι φέροντας,
δάμπον καὶ φαέθονθ', οἳ τ' Ἡὼ πῶλοι ἄγουσι.

In three passages there is some confusion of the mythological and non-mythological conceptions of Eos. See Il. xxiii. 227:

ὅν τε μέτα κροκόπεπλος ὑπεῖρ ἄλα κίδναται Ἡώς,

Il. viii. 1:

Ἡὼς μὲν κροκόπεπλος ἐκίδνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν,

and Il. xxiv. 695:

Ἡὼς δὲ κροκόπεπλος ἐκίδνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν.

For κροκόπεπλος, which, incidentally, is applied only to Eos in Homer, points to the prevailing mythological conception. Cf. Il. xix. 1 f. quoted above. And Ludwig prints Ἡὼς in all four passages. Yet it is a trifle odd to think of a person as being "diffused" or "scattered" or "spread," which is what κίδνημι seems to mean, so that in Il. xxiii. 227, e.g., the Oxford text has ἡώς,

which, however, neglects κροκόπεπλος.¹ Perhaps the solution lies in the formulaic nature of Homeric poetry and Ἠώς δὲ μὲν κροκόπεπλος is a formula which gradually came to mean little more than plain Ἠώς and hence ἥως. Be this as it may, it is clear that the bulk of Homeric designations of dawn are mythological. The number of color-words found in connection with Eos as contrasted with their absence in connection with the sunrise (see below) deserves passing mention.

C. Sunrise.--Sunrise is seldom occasion for an extended time-designation. In the whole body of Homeric poetry there are only three detailed passages describing it (Il. vii. 421-23; Od. iii. 1-3; xix. 433 f., the last of which simply repeats Il. vii. 421 f.). Of these designations one (Od. iii. 1-3) is definitely mythological:

Ἡέλιος δ' ἀνόρουσε, λιπὼν περικαλλέα λίμνην,
οὐρανὸν ἔς πολύχαλκον, ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι φαείνοι
καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν ἐπὶ ζεῖδωρον ἄρουραν.

The sun is an anthropomorphic deity, Helios, who rises with a definite purpose (ἵν' . . . φαείνοι). The other description (Il. vii. 421-23) is less definitely mythological:

Ἡέλιος μὲν ἔπειτα νέον προσέβαλλεν ἄρουρας,
ἔξ ἀκαλαρρείταιο βαθυρρόου ῥαεανοῖο
οὐρανὸν εἰσανιῶν.

But on the strength of the other passages and Homer's general usage we may confidently accept it as such, and, in fact, editors generally print Ἡέλιος. It is worth noting that these Homeric designations of sunrise involve no attempt to describe the sun itself; there is no epithet referring to color or heat. The poet is more interested in the point at which the sun rises (λιπὼν περικαλλέα λίμνην and ἔξ ἀκαλαρρείταιο . . . ῥαεανοῖο).

¹Haeffliger noticed the difficulty involved in these verses. See op. cit., p. 16, "ihre Personifikation ist nicht immer durchgeführt, z.B. Il. VIII 1"

D. Noon.--There are only three verses which designate noon, and, except for very minor details, they are identical. See, e.g., Il. viii. 68:

ἥμος δ' ἥελιος μέσον οὐρανὸν ἀμφιβέβηκει.

This is mythological.

E. Sunset.--Definitely mythological is Il. xviii. 239 f.:

ἥελιον δ' ἀκάμαντα βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη
πέμψεν ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοῆς δέκοντα νέεσθαι.

Hera forces Helios to descend to Oceanus against his will. As in the mythological designations of sunrise, there is no reference here to the colors of the setting sun.

II.

A. Designations Based on Natural Phenomena

Human experience of natural phenomena supplied elements which enter into Homeric time-designations, including those of a definitely mythological character. To some of these, e.g., the color-words used of Eos, we have already alluded. Homeric designations of nightfall and periods of the night are likely to be of this type. See, e.g., Il. i. 475, which occurs seven times in the poems:

ἥμος δ' ἥελιος κατέδυ καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἦλθε,

Il. xxi. 231 f.:

οὐρανὸν δ' εἰς δ' κεν ἔλθῃ
δείελος ὅψε δύνων, σκιάσῃ δ' ἐρίβωλον ἄρουραν,

Od. iii. 335:

ἦδη γάρ φάος οἴχεθ' ὑπὸ ζόφον,

Od. ii. 388 (seven times in Homer):

δύσετό τ' ἥελιος σκιδώντό τε πᾶσαι ἀγυαί,

the second half of Od. xii. 312 (cf. Il. x. 252; Od. xiv. 483):

... μετὰ δ' ἄστρα βεβήκει,

and Il. vii. 433:

ἥμος δ' οὐτ' ἄρ' πω ἦώς, ἔτι δ' ἀμφιλόκη νύξ.

B. Designations Based on Human Activities

We now come to designations which are based on human activities. Homer has but a few of them, and they are, for the most part, very simple.

First, there are two identical references to the "ox-loosing" time of day, i.e., the latter part of the afternoon, which is so familiar in later Greek and Latin poetry, especially of the pastoral type. See Il. xvi. 779 (Od. ix. 58):

ἥμος δ' Ἡέλιος μετενίσσεται βουλυτὸν δέ.

Man's stomach has served as a chronometer for ages. See Od. xiv. 407: νῦν δ' ὄρη δόρποιο. The necessity for sleep is as imperious as hunger. See Od. xi. 330 f., ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄρη / εὖδειν, with which cf. Od. xi. 373 f. See also Od. xix. 515:

αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ νύξ ἔλθῃ, ἔλῃσί τε κοῖτος ἅπαντας.

Finally, there are two passages of this character which I have purposely postponed, because they represent the first instances of a type of time-designation which became more important in the hands of certain poets of a later day, notably Apollonius Rhodius. One of them is simply an expansion of the sort of thing already noted in Od. xiv. 407 above, viz., Od. xii. 439 f.:

. . . ἥμος δ' ἐπὶ δόρπον ἀνὴρ ἀγορήθεν ἀνέστη
κρίνων νείκεα πολλὰ δικάζομένων αἰζηῶν.

But observe how it carries us into the human activities of the poet's own environment. The other passage, Il. xi. 86-89, in designating the time (about 9 or 10 A.M.), gives us an even more elaborate vignette of an aspect of life in the Homeric world:

ἥμος δὲ δρυτόμος περ ἀνὴρ ὀπλίσσατο δεῖπνον
οὐρεὸς ἐν βήσσησιν, ἐπεὶ τ' ἐκορέσσατο χεῖρας
τάμνων δένδρεα μακρά, ἄδῃς τέ μιν ἔκετο θυμόν,
σίτου τε γλυκεροῖο περὶ φρένας ἕμερος αἰρεῖ.

But although we must recognize that such time-designations do occur in Homer, they are rare, and so, on the whole, are extended objective descriptions of natural phenomena. The largely formalized mythological time-designations are by far the most characteristic and among them Eos plays the leading role.

CHAPTER IV

FROM HOMER TO THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

Of the development of epic time-designations in this long period we know almost nothing. The "cyclic epics" are gone; gone, too, are the Heracleia of Peisander, the Heracleia of Panyassis, the Thebais of Antimachus, and the Perseis of Choerilus. Only insignificant fragments have survived, such as frag. 11 of the Little Iliad, νύξ μὲν ἔην μέσση, λαμπρὴ δ' ἐπέτελλε σελήνη.

In view of this great loss of epic material, we are forced to turn to the evidence afforded by the longer of the Homeric Hymns. This is very slight. But so far as it goes, it indicates that epic time-designations continued under the all-pervading influence of Homer. Compare H. Dem. (11.) 51:

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτῃ οἱ ἐπήλυθε φαινολῖς ἥως

with such Homeric verses as Il. ix. 474:

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτῃ μοι ἐπήλυθε νύξ ἑρεβεννή

and Il. vi. 175:

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτῃ ἐφάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως.

The adjective φαινολῖς, which is not in Homer, is the only non-Homeric element in the line.

Human activity serves as the basis of H. Aphrod. (v.) 168 f.:

ἦμος δ' αἶψ' εἰς αὖλιν ἀποκλίνουσι νομῆες
βοῦς τε καὶ ἵφια μῆλα νομῶν ἐξ ἀνθεμοέντων.

Cf. the Homeric βουλευτὸν δέ quoted above (p. 15). In structure and diction, too, this passage recalls Homer. Cf. the frequent use of ἦμος . . . τῆμος in Homer (see lex.). βοῦς τε καὶ ἵφια

μήλα is based on the Homeric . . . βόας καὶ ἴφια μήλα, which, however, comes at the close of the verse in Homer.¹ Cf. νομῶν ἐξ ἀνθεμοέντων and Hom. Il. ii. 467 ἐν λειμῶνι Σκαμανδρίῳ ἀνθεμόεντι; Od. xii. 159 λειμῶν' ἀνθεμόεντα.

In the H. Herm. we find the mythological type. Cf. vss. 184 f.:

Ἥδ' αὖ δ' ἡριγένεια φῶς θνητοῖσι φέρουσα
ὤρνυτ' ἀπ' Ὠκεανοῦ βαθυρροῦ . . .

This is a blend of Homeric words and ideas. Cf. Il. xix. 1 f. (quoted above, p. 12); Il. i. 477 (ἡριγένεια); Il. vii. 422 (βαθυρροῦ). Another example in the same poem is vss. 68 f.:

Ἥελιος μὲν ἔδυνε κατὰ χθονὸς Ὠκεανόνδε
αὐτοῖσιν θ' ἵπποισι καὶ ἄρμασιν . . .

Cf. Hom. Od. ii. 388 (p. 14 above); Il. xxi. 8 αὐτοῖς ἵπποισι καὶ ἄρμασιν; Il. xviii. 239 f. (p. 14 above). The conception of the Sun as a driver is not Homeric, however.² The third example is vss. 97-100:

ὄρφναϊν δ' ἐπίκουρος ἐπαύετο δαιμονίη νύξ,
ἡ πλείων, τάχα δ' ὄρθρος ἐγίγνετο δημοεργός·
ἡ δὲ νέον οκοπιῆν προσεβήσατο δῖα Σελήνη,
Πάλλαντος θυγάτηρ Μεγαμηδείδης ἀνακτος.

This is definitely mythological in the last two verses, and ἐπίκουρος half-personifies νύξ. The adjective δημοεργός stresses the effect of daybreak on man.

The centuries between the Homeric poems and the Hellenistic period saw the growth, perfection, and decline of the several varieties of Greek lyric poetry and of Greek tragedy. In both there is material germane to our subject. In Greek lyric, for example, there are passages like the celebrated fragment no. 58 of Alcman on the calm of night:

¹ βοῦς is not found in Homer = βόες or βόας.

² So Allen and Sikes on Hom. Hymn xxxi. 9.

εὐδουσιν δ' ὄρεων κορυφαί τε καὶ φάραγγες,
 πρῶνέσ τε καὶ χαράδραι,
 φύλα τ' ἔρπετ' ἀτ' ὅσ' αὖ τρέφει μέλαινα γαῖα,
 θήρες τ' ὄρεσκόιοι καὶ γένος μελισσῶν
 καὶ κνῶδαλ' ἐν βένθεσσ' ἰορφυρέας ἁλός·
 εὐδουσιν δ' οἰωνῶν
 φύλα τανυπτερύγων.

The time-designations in Greek tragedy doubtless influenced contemporary and later epic phraseology even more than those of the lyric. See, for examples, Eur. Electra 54, ὦ νύξ μέλαινα, χρυσέων ἄστρον τροφέ; ibid. 102, Ἔως γὰρ λευκὸν ὄμμα' ἀναίρεται; Iph. Aul. 6-11:

Αγ. τίς ποτ' ἔρ' ἀστήρ ὅδε πορθεύει;
 Πρ. Ζεῖριος ἐγγὺς τῆς ἐπταπόρου
 Πλειάδος ἄσσων ἔτι μεσσηρίας.
 Αγ. οὐκ οὐν φθόγγος γ' οὐτ' ὀρνίθων
 οὐτε θαλάσσης· σιγαί δ' ἀνέμων
 τόνδε κατ' Εὐριπον ἔχουσιν;

or the opening of the Ion (vss. 82 ff.).¹

However, although investigation of the material afforded by the lyric and tragedy would no doubt contribute somewhat to our knowledge of the details included in epic time-designations, since neither genre added a new type of designation, we may safely neglect them and pass at once to the epic poetry of the Hellenistic period.

¹There is some discussion of such descriptions in H. R. Fairclough, The Attitude of the Greek Tragedians toward Nature (Toronto, 1897).

CHAPTER V

APOLLONIUS RHODIUS

I. Mythological Designations

The first thing that one notices on examining the time-designations in the Argonautica is that those of the mythological type are few in number as compared with those in Homer. Apollonius retained much of the mythological machinery of the Homeric epos, but it would seem that he was not interested in retaining the Homeric type of time-designation. What Preiswerk says of Apollonius' treatment of morning applies to the whole body of his time-designations: "das Mythologische tritt im allgemeinen zurück."¹

A. Dawn.--The mythological element is manifest in i. 519-21:

αὐτὰρ ὅτ' αἰγλήεσσα φαεινοῖς ὄμμασιν Ἥως
Πηλίου αἰπεινὰς ἴδεν ἄκριας, ἐκ δ' ἀνέμοιο
εὐδοιοὶ ἐκλύζοντο τινασσομένης ἀλὸς ἄκραι.

But it is noteworthy that while the first half of this passage is mythological, the second half introduces a descriptive element drawn from human experience. And even the first half is descriptive in so far as the local element is emphasized in Πηλίου αἰπεινὰς . . . ἄκριας. This specific character appears also in iii. 1223 f.:

. . . ἤδη δὲ φῶς νιφόεντος ὕπερθεν
Καυκάσου ἤριγενῆς Ἥως βάλεν ἀντέλλουσα.

In each case the geographic element suits the context. Contrast this with the universal applicability of the Homeric mythological

¹Op. cit., p. 102.

dawns, that rise from Oceanus no matter where the action is taking place.

Three other passages which may be mythological are 11.

449 f.:

αὐτίκα δ' οὐ μετὰ δηρὸν ἀμειβομένων ἐφάνθη
'Ηριγενής;

1v. 885:

ἦμος δ' ἄκρον ἔβαλλε φασσφόρος οὐρανὸν 'Ηώς,

and 1v. 980 f.:

ἦμα καὶ αὖτις
'Ηώς ἠριγενὴς φέγγος βάλε νισσομένοισιν.

See also 11. 1285 and 1v. 183.

B. Sunset and nightfall.--The mythological element may be found in 11. 1191-93:

'Ἡέλιος μὲν ἄπωθεν ἑρεμνὴν δόετο γαῖαν
ἐσπερίος, νεάτας ὑπὲρ ἄκριας Αἰθιοπῶν
Νύξ δ' ἵπποισιν ἔβαλλεν ἐπὶ ζυγά.

Again the geographical touch is noticeable.

Mythology or, at least, definite personification appears

in 1v. 1058-60:

στρευγομένοις δ' ἄν' ὄμιλον ἐπήλυθεν εὐνῆτιρα
Νύξ ἔργων ἄνδρεσσι, κατευκλήσε δὲ πᾶσαν
γαῖαν ὁμῶς.

II.

Time-designations based on man's experience of natural phenomena and of human activities are at once more frequent and more detailed than those which we found in Homer (see pp. 14 ff. above). Life in the Hellenistic world was far more complex than that of the Homeric age. This complexity is reflected in Hellenistic poetry as a whole, and we find palpable traces of it in the time-designations of the Argonautica. Apollonius takes over Homeric elements, amplifies them, and provides them with a wealth

of detail which is quite alien to Homer. We find an interest in color and sound, in chiaroscuro, and in the effect of these upon mankind, that approximates the modern romantic attitude.¹

A. Designations Based on Natural Phenomena

1. Morning twilight.--The difference between Homer and Apollonius appears when one compares Il. vii. 433 (quoted on p. 15) and Apoll. ii. 669-71:

ἥμος δ' οὐτ' ἄρ' πω φάος ἄμβροτον, οὐτ' ἔτι λῖν
 ὀρφναίῃ πέλεται, λεπτὸν δ' ἐπιδέδρομε νυκτὶ
 φέγγος, ὅτ' ἀμφιλύκην μιν ἀνεγρόμενοι καλέουσιν.

ἥμος . . . πέλεται is in the formulaic style of Homer; λεπτὸν . . . φέγγος is a bit of word-painting; and then ὅτ' . . . καλέουσιν brings us back to the human world.

2. Lucifer.--The morning-star supplies one designation, which is non-mythological. See i. 1273 f.:

αὐτίκα δ' ἀκροτάτας ὑπερέσχεθεν ἄκριας ἀστήρ
 ἥψος.

3. Dawn.--Two passages designating dawn throw further light on the methods of Apollonius. Cf. i. 1280-82:

ἥμος δ' οὐρανόθεν χαροπὴ ὑπολάμπεται: ἥως
 ἐκ περάτης ἀνιοῦσα, διαγλαύσσοι δ' ἀταρκοί,
 καὶ πεδία δροσόεντα φαιινῇ λάμπεται αἴγλη.

Apollonius is not content to mention the growing brightness of the sky;² he includes the effect of the daylight on the landscape --the whitening roads and the sparkling of myriad dewdrops on the plains. The other passage (iv. 1170-75) is even more complex:

ἥως δ' ἀμβροσίοισιν ἀνερχομένη φαέεσσιν
 λυε κελαινὴν νύκτα δι' ἡέρος· αἱ δ' ἐγέλασαν
 ἡμόνες νήσοιο καὶ ἐρσήεσαι ἄπωθεν
 ἀτραπιτοὶ πεδίων· ἐν δὲ θρόος ἔσκεν ἀγυιαῖς.

¹Preiswerk, op. cit., p. 103, notes this. "Die Art, wie Apollonios den Morgen empfindet, liegt uns näher als die bisweilen etwas steife Feierlichkeit Homers." Preiswerk's remark applies equally well to the other periods of the day.

²There may be a touch of personification in χαροπὴ.

κίνυντ' ἐνναέται μὲν ἀνὰ πτόλιν, οἱ δ' ἀποτηλοῦ
κόλχοι Μακρινδίδης ἐπὶ πείρασι χερνήσοιο.

Again he starts with the change from darkness to light in the sky. Then comes a reference to the "smile" or "laugh" (cf. Mooney's ed. ad loc.) of the sea-shore and the dewy paths in the plains (cf. the passage just quoted, i. 1282). Then we reach the effect on men, as manifest in the growing sound and activity in the city streets and also among the far-away Colchians.

4. Sunrise.--Observation of nature is again coupled with the effect of nature on man in ii. 164 f.:

ἥμος δ' ἥελιος δροσερὰς ἐπέλαμψε κολώνας,
ἐκ περάτων ἀνίων, ἤγειρε δὲ μηλοβοτῆρας.

5. Noon.--The only passage of any consequence is iv. 1312f.:

ἔνδιον ἡμάρ ἔην, περὶ δ' ὀξύταται θέρον αὐγαὶ
ἡελίου Διβύην.

However, the absence of the mythological type (Sun bestriding the mid-point of his course, etc.) perhaps deserves mention.

6. Afternoon.--See i. 450-52:

ἥμος δ' ἥελιος σταθερὸν παραμείβεται, ἡμάρ
αἱ δὲ νέον σκοπέλοισιν ὑποσκιόωνται ἄρουραι,
δειελινδὸν κλίνοντος ὑπὸ ζόφον ἡελίοιο.

7. Evening.--The best example is iv. 1629 f.:

ἥμος δ' ἥελιος μὲν ἔδυ, ἀνὰ δ' ἤλυθεν ἀστὴρ
αὐλίας, ὅστ' ἀνέπαυσεν οἰζυροῦς ἀροτῆρας.

Here again human activity forms part of a time-designation based on natural phenomena.

8. Time of night.--See iii. 1195 f.:

αὐτίκ' ἐπεὶ ῥ' Ἑλίκης εὐφεγγέας ἀστέρες Ἄρκτου
ἔκλιθεν, οὐρανόθεν δὲ πανεύκηλος γένετ' αἰθήρ.

B. Designations Based on Human Activity

In a few of the passages quoted above (e.g., ii. 669 ff.; iv. 1170 ff.; ii. 164 f.; iv. 1629 f.) we noted that Apollonius combined details drawn from human life itself with details based

on man's observation of nature. Finally, there are some elaborate passages which are based almost wholly on human activities.

The first (iv. 109-13) designates the morning twilight, the time at which men get up to go hunting:

ἦμος δ' ἄνδρες ὕπνον ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐβάλοντο
ἀγρόται, οὔτε κύνεσσι πεποιθότες οὔποτε νύκτα
ἄγχαυρον κνώσσουσιν, ἀλευάμενοι φάος ἡοῦς,
μὴ πρὶν ἀμαλδύνη θηρῶν στίβον ἡδὲ καὶ ὁδὸν
θηρείην λευκήσιν ἐνισχίψασα βολῇσιν.

Another (iii. 1340-42) designates a period in the afternoon, a time when the farm-laborers, who have been toiling since early morning, pray that the day's work will end quickly:

ἦμος δὲ τρίτατον λάχος ἡμέρας ἀνομένοιο
λείπεται, ἐξ ἡοῦς, καλέουσι δὲ κεκμηῶτες
ἐργατῖναι γλυκερὸν σπιν ἄφαρ βουλυτῶν ἰκέσθαι.

Dinner-time furnished Homer with a means of designating time, as we saw above (p. 15); it was the time when legal business ended and men went home. Apollonius also makes it the basis of a detailed designation (i. 1172-76):

ἦμος δ' ἀγρόθεγ εἴσι φυτοσχάφος ἡ τις ἀροτρεὺς
ἀσπασίως εἰς αὐλιν ἔην, δόρποιο χατίζων,
αὐτοῦ δ' ἐν προμολῇ τετρυμένα γούνατ' ἔκαμψεν
αὐσταλέος κονίησι, περιτριβέας δὲ τε χεῖρας
εἰσορόων κακὰ πολλὰ ἐῖς ἡρήσατο γαστρί.

Mooney (ad loc.) compares this with Il. xi. 86 ff. (see above, p. 15) and Od. xiii. 31 ff. The general idea is similar, but Apollonius reveals an exaggerated realism which is alien to the Homeric epos. Such a genre-scene would not surprise us in Theocritus; but to some critics it seems out of place in epic.¹

¹ The fondness of Hellenistic writers of epic for genre-scenes is discussed by G. Huber, Lebensschilderung und Kleinmalerei im Hellenistischen Epos (Basel, 1926). See especially p. 103: "Im hellenistischen Epos begegnet uns eine ausgesprochene Vorliebe für die Kleinmalerei, eben wieder im Zusammenhang mit dem Streben nach der Darstellung der Wirklichkeit, des täglichen Lebens. Kleine Szenen und Bilder aus der gewöhnlichen Umwelt durchdringen den epischen Stoff und nehmen dem Stil jeden erhabenen heroischen Ton."

Finally, there is the famous description of the calm of the night, when all the world was asleep or ready for sleep but Medea (iii. 744-50):

νύξ μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἄγεν κνέφας· οἱ δ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ
ναῦται εἰς Ἑλίκην τε καὶ ἀστέρας Ῥοίωνος
ἔδρακον ἐκ νηῶν· ὕπνοιο δὲ καὶ τῆς ὁδότης
ἦδη καὶ πυλαῶρος ἐέλδετο· καὶ τινὰ παίδων
μητέρα τεθνεώτων ἀδινὸν περὶ χθμ' ἐκάλυπτεγ·
οὐδὲ κυνῶν ὕλακῇ ἔτ' ἀνὰ πτόλιν, οὐ θρόος ἦεν
ἡχῆεις· σιγῇ δὲ μελαινομένην ἔχεν ὄφρην.

This is a good passage with which to close our examination of the time-designations of Apollonius, because it splendidly illustrates their complexity. Here we have natural phenomena, the deep gloom of night, the stars, and the dead silence in the city, where even the watch-dogs were asleep and the streets, so busy and noisy by day, were deserted. And then we meet with sailors, wayfarers, gate-keepers, and a mother of dead children. In this passage, too, there is more than a trace of that rather strained realism which we noted in the previous passage.¹

Furthermore, this passage reminds us that Apollonius practically suppressed the mythological time-designations in favor of designations based on human experience. The latter are not, to be sure, unknown in Homer, but Apollonius greatly enhanced their importance and complexity. Homer's time-designations rarely cause us to linger over them. They are transitional, and we hasten on

¹ Cf. H. W. Prescott, The Development of Virgil's Art (Chicago, 1927), pp. 238 f.: "Even in the content of his similes and incidental features of description Apollonius, like Virgil, reveals a pervasive human sympathy, . . . but the Greek poet loses all restraint, and often betrays a distinct straining for effect, a conscious effort to attract attention. So, in a conventional epic description of night, endeavoring to describe the universal sleep of nature and of humanity, he is not content to tell us that the dogs had stopped barking, that wayfarer and sentry were intent on sleep, but has to add that deep sleep overcame many a mother of dead children; Virgil would have omitted the gruesomely tragic adjective and suggested that even the tired mother found rest, but Apollonius is tempted to make the picture sensational."

to the narrative which they introduce. In Apollonius, on the other hand, time-designations frequently acquire a value of their own. They present poetic pictures that are their own excuse for being. They tend to make the reader stop and admire before passing on. This is a distinct innovation upon their function in Homeric epos.

CHAPTER VI

QUINTUS OF SMYRNA

The next extant Greek epic is the *Tò μεθ' Ὀμήρου* of Quintus of Smyrna. The author's date is uncertain, but it is generally agreed that he lived before Nonnus, i.e., in the latter part of the fourth century of our era.¹ Thus he comes well over five hundred years after Apollonius Rhodius. Quintus' work is a simple, well-ordered condensation of stories included in the cyclic epics, and it is significant largely because the cyclic epics themselves are no longer extant. For Quintus is a mediocre poet,² and in details of thought and style he follows Homer, Hesiod, and Apollonius Rhodius as closely as possible.³

Like every epic poet Quintus uses numerous time-designations. In them the influence of Homer is manifest. Mythology is predominant, while designations based on human activities are very rare. There is very little originality in the whole body of material.

¹Christ-Schmid, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*, II (6th ed.; Munich, 1924), II, 962, simply states that he belongs "in spätrömische Zeit" but discusses him before Nonnus. --A. and M. Croiset, *Histoire de la littérature grecque*, V (Paris, 1899), 903: "La facture de ses vers permet d'affirmer qu'il a dû être antérieur à Nonnos, mais il est difficile de dire de combien il a pu le précéder; et c'est ne qu'une vraisemblance assez vague qui semble autoriser à le placer vers la fin du IV^e siècle." --E. Bethe, Gercke and Norden's *Einleitung*, I (3d ed.; Berlin, 1927), Part III, 56: "vor Nonnos, d. h. vor Ende des 4. Jhs."

²Croiset, *op. cit.*, p. 904: "Bien doué pour la versification, il n'avait dû rester ni force d'invention, ni sensibilité profonde; c'était par nature un imitateur, qui a dû vivre uniquement dans les livres, étranger ou indifférent à son temps."

³Croiset, *op. cit.*, pp. 904 f.

I. Mythological Designations

A. Dawn.--A good example is vi. 1-3:

Ἥως δ' ὤκεανοιο ῥόον καὶ λέκτρα λιποῦσα
Τιθωνοῦ προσέβη μέγαν οὐρανόν, ἀμφὶ δὲ πάντῃ
κίδνατο παμφανόωσα· γέλασσε δὲ γαῖα καὶ αἰθήρ.

Cf. Hom. Il. xi. 1 f. and xix. 1 f. (p. 12 above); also Il. viii. 1 (p. 12 above); and Il. xix. 362 γέλασσε δὲ πᾶσα περὶ χθών.

See also xiv. 1 f.:

καὶ τότε ἄπ' ὤκεανοιο θεᾷ χρυσόθρονος Ἥως
οὐρανὸν εἰσανόρουσε· χάος δ' ὑπεδέξατο νύκτα.

Cf. Il. ii. 48 f. (pp. 11 f. above) and Od. xxi. 347 f. (p. 12 above).

Cf. Il. 11. 665 f.:

ἀλλ' ὅτε καρχαλόωσα δι' αἰθέρος ἦλυθεν Ἥως
λαμπρότατον πᾶσιν τε φάος Τρώεσσι φέρουσα.

Cf. . . . ἦλυθεν Ἥως, Od. x. 541; xi. 142; xv. 56; and xx. 91.

Another example is i. 138:

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἐπόρουσε ῥοδοσφυρος Ἥριγένεια.

For Ἥριγένεια = Ἥως, see Od. xxi. 197; xxi. 347. ῥοδοσφυρος (metrically equivalent to the Homeric ἑυθρονος) is another attempt to vary ῥοδοδάκτυλος. Cf. ῥοδοπηχυς of Eos in Hom. Hymn xxxi. 6, Sappho lxxv. 18 (ῥοδοπάχυν Αὔων), and Theocr. ii. 148; this word was originally a general epithet (see Hes. Th. 246, 251; Sappho lvi).

See also ii. 189:

Ἥως δ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἀνήϊεν οὐκ ἐθέλουσα.

In Il. xviii. 239 f. (p. 14 above) Helios is unwilling to return to Oceanus. With οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἀνήϊεν (repeated in xiv. 228) cf. Hom. Il. v. 867 ἰὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρύν, Il. xxi. 522 ἰὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρύν ἵκηται, Od. viii. 74 οὐρανὸν εὐρύν ἵκανε, etc. With οὐκ ἐθέλουσα cf. Hom. Il. xviii. 434.

Another example is v. 395:

καὶ τότ' ἀπ' Ὠκεανοῦ κίε χρυσήνιος ἥως.

On χρυσήνιος ἥως see p. 35 below.

B. Sunset.--See i. 118 f.:

ἥλιος δὲ θοῇσιν ἐλίσσόμενος περὶ δίνης,
δύσας ἔς Ὠκεανοῦ βαθὺν ῥόον, ἦνυτο δ' ἥως.

Cf. Hom. Il. xxi. 11 ἐλίσσόμενοι περὶ δίνης.¹ With verse 119 cf.

Il. vii. 422 (p. 13 above).

See also viii. 489:

ἥελιος δ' ἀκάμαντας ὑπὸ ζόφον ἤλασεν ἵππους.

For the Sun as a charioteer see p. 18 above. The Sun himself is "unwearying" in Il. xviii. 239 (p. 14 above); cf. Il. xviii. 484.

C. Nightfall.--See i. 826 f.:

ἥμος δ' αἰγλήεσσα κατ' Ὠκεανοῦ βεβήκει
ἥως, ἀμφὶ δὲ γαῖαν ἐκίδνατο θεσπεσίη νύξ,

and vii. 671-73:

ἀλλὰ μιν ἔσχε
νύξ, ἥ τ' ἀνθρώποισι λύσιν καμάτοιο φέρουσα
ἔσσυτ' ἀπ' Ὠκεανοῦ καλυψαμένη δέμας ὄρφη.

For the general idea cf. Hom. Od. v. 491 ff.:

τῷ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνη
ὕπνον ἐπ' ὄμμασι χεῦ', ἵνα μιν παύσειε τάχιστα
δυσπνόος καμάτοιο, φίλα βλέφαρ' ἀμφικαλύψας.

Other passages which contain mythological elements are

iii. 1; ix. 67; vii. 253; vii. 400; xii. 352; vi. 645.

In a few instances a time-designation is made up of a mythological element and an element derived from human experience of natural phenomena. For example, see vii. 1 f.:

ἥμος δ' οὐρανὸς ἄστρα κατέκρυφεν, ἔγρετο δ' ἥως
λαμπρὸν παμφανώσας, κνέφας δ' ἀνεχάσσατο νυκτός.

¹ ἐλίσσω as applied to the sun may be illustrated in the following passages: Aesch. P.V. 1091 f. ὦ πάντων / αἰθῆρ κοινὸν φάος εἰλίσσω; Theodect. Frag. 10 (p. 805 Nauck) ὦ καλλιφεγγὴ λαμπάδ' εἰλίσσω φλογός, Ἥλιε; Eur. Phoen. 3 Ἥλιε, θοαῖς ἵπποι-σιν εἰλίσσω φλόγα.

λαμπρόν παμφ. recalls Il. v. 6 λαμπρόν παμφαίνῃσι (of Sirius).

See also xii. 117 f.:

ἥδ' ὅππῃ δ' ὀππὸς ἵκανεν ἀπώσαμένη κνέφας ἥδ'
εἰς ἔρεβος, χαροπὴ δὲ δι' ἡέρος ἦεν αἴγλη.

With 118 cf. Il. 11. 458 αἴγλη παμφανόωσα δι' αἰθέρος οὐρανὸν ἵκε
(of the flashing bronze armor).

A third example is xiv. 228 f.:

ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἐς οὐρανὸν εὐρύθ' ἀνῆεν Ἡριγένεια
νύκτα διασκεδάσασα, φάνη δ' ἄρα γαῖα καὶ αἰθήρ.

Or mythology may be combined with a (very obvious) reference to human activity, as in xi. 330 f.:

ἦμος δ' ὤκεανοιο ῥοὰς ὑπερήλασεν ἥδ'
ἵππους μαρμαίροντας, ἀνέγρετο δ' ἔθνεα φωτῶν;

iv. 62-64:

ἥδ' ὅππῃ δ' ὤκεανοιο βαθὺν ῥόον εἰσαφίκανε,
χυσάνην δ' ἄρα γαῖαν ἐπήειν ἄσπετος ὄρνη,
ἦμος ἀναπνεύουσι βροτοὶ βαιὸν καμάτοιο;

and x. 256-58:

τοῦα γάρ ῥα κυδοιμοῦ
νύξ ἀπέπαυσε μέλαινα, μόγον δ' ἐξείλετο γυνῶν
ὕπνον ἐπὶ βλεφάροισι πόνων ἀλκτῆρα χέασα.

Cf. Od. 1. 363 f. (repeated several times):

ὄφρα οἱ ὕπνον
ἦδ' ἐπὶ βλεφάροισι βάλε γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.

Cf. also Od. xix. 590; xii. 338; xx. 54; and Eurip. Or. 174 ff.:

πότνια, πότνια νύξ, / ὕπνοδότειρα τῶν πολυπόνων βροτῶν, / ἐρεβό-
θεν ἴθι κτλ.

Star-mythology forms the basis of at least one time-designation, viz., iv. 74 f.:

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ κεφαλὰς μὲν ἐπ' ἀντολίῃν ἔχον ἄρκτοι,
δέγμεναι ἡελίοιο θοδὸν φάος, ἔγρετο δ' ἥδ' ἥως,

and ii. 183-85 may perhaps be classified here, although it contains other elements:

ἦμος δ' ἡλιβάτων ὀρέων ὑπερέσσυται ἄκρας
λαμπρὸς ἀν' οὐρανὸν εὐρύθ' Ἑωσφόρος, ὅς τ' ἐπὶ ἔργον
ἦδ' ἄλ' ἀμαλλοδετήρας ἀμαλλοδετήρας ἐγείρει.

II.

A. Designations Based on Natural Phenomena

Natural phenomena form the chief content of several designations. In about half of these there is added some touch derived from man's activities.

1. Dawn.--See ix. 1 f.:

ἦμος δ' ἦνυτο νυκτὸς ἄπο κνέφας, ἔγρετο δ' ἥδ' ὡς
ἐκ περάτων, μάρμαίρε δ' ἀπείριτον ἄσπετος αἰθήρ.

Note that a mythological element occurs here, too.

2. Sunrise.--See ii. 1 f.:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κορυφὰς ὀρέων ὕπερ ἡχηέντων
λαμπρὸν ὑπὲρ φάος ἦλθεν ἀτειρέος ἡελίοιο.

Cf. Homer's λαμπρὸν φάος ἡελίοιο.

A third example, partly mythological, is viii. 1 f.:

ἦμος δ' ἡελίοιο φάος περικίδνατο γαῖαν
ἐκ περάτων ἀνιδόντος, ὅθι σπέος Ἑριγενείης.

3. Sunset and nightfall.--See v. 346 f.:

ἡέλιος δ' ἀπόρουσεν, ἐπεσκιόωντο δ' ἄλωαῖ
νυκτὸς ἐπεσσυμένης, ἐπεκίδνατο δ' οὐρανὸν ἄστρο.

Cf. Apoll. Rh. 1. 450 ff. (p. 23 above). Cf. also ix. 66, which is somewhat similar:

νύξ δ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἵκανε, ἐπέσσυτο δ' οὐρανὸν ἄστρο.

See also vi. 166:

καὶ τότε νύξ ἐπόρουσε, μελαίνετο δ' αἶα καὶ αἰθήρ.

ii. 593:

δύσατο δ' ἡελίοιο φάος

and iii. 514:

καὶ σφιν ὀδυρομένοισι τάχ' ἦλυθε κυανέη νύξ.

The last of the passages quoted is semi-mythological.

A combination of natural phenomena with human activity is found in ix. 529 f.:

νύξ δ' ἀνεχάσσαστο δῖα· φάος δ' ἐρύθηνε κολώνας
ἡελίου, καὶ πάντα βροτοὶ περιποιπνυον ἔργα.

See also *iii.* 656-58:

ἡέλιος δ' ἀπόρουσεν ἐς Ὠκεανοῦ ῥέεθρα,
ὥρτο δὲ νύξ μεγάλοιο κατ' ἡέρος ὀρφνῆεσσα,
ἥ τε καὶ ἀχνυμένοισι πέλει θνητοῖσιν ὄνειρα.

Cf. *v.* 659 (possibly mythological):

νύξ δ' ἐπόρουσε μέλαινα μετ' ἀνέρας ὕπνον ἄγουσα.

x. 436 f.:

μέχρις ἐπὶ χθόνα δῖαν ἀπ' εὐρέος Ὠκεανοῦ
νύξ ἐχύθη μερόπεσσι λύσιν καμάτοιο φέρουσα.

and *xii.* 104 f.:

ἦμος δ' αἰγλήεντα περιστρέφετ' οὐρανὸν ἄστρο
πάντοθε μαρμαίροντα, πόνου δ' ἐπιλήθεται ἀνὴρ.

B. Designations Based on Human Activity

Human activity serves to designate time in two passages.

The first (*vii.* 621 f.) involves the βουλευτός, which is as old as Homer (see p. 15 above). The second, too, is hackneyed (*vii.* 732):

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μερόπεσσιν ἐπὶ γλυκὺς ἦλυθεν ὕπνος.

-----o-----

It is noteworthy that noon and midnight are not dignified with περίφρασις. For the former Quintus simply says (*xiii.* 134) ἡματι μέσσω; for the latter (*xiv.* 143),

. . . μέσον περιτέλλετο νυκτός.

-----o-----

At several points above I have called attention to Quintus' inclusion of aspects of human life in his time-designations. At first glance, in fact, one might suppose that Quintus' fondness for such designations is equal to Homer's, if not to Apollonius'. But if we examine these passages more carefully, we find that, in reality, Quintus' use of the human element is insignificant.

In the first place, Quintus is almost lacking in gemin time-designations based on human activity. The human element appears in several passages, to be sure, but, for the most part, it is not essential to the designation of time. Let ii. 183-85 (p. 30 above) serve to illustrate what I mean. ἥμος . . . 'Εωσφόρος defines the time, and ὅς . . . ἐγείρει is subordinate. Remove it altogether, and the time is still defined. In almost every instance the situation is the same: the human element is subordinated, logically or grammatically or in both ways.

Secondly, the treatment of the human element is meager and monotonous. In the morning men awake and resume their tasks; at night they go to bed and are refreshed with sweet sleep. Even this, wanting in complexity and breadth of view as it is, is vague and general; the nearest approach to concreteness is in ii. 184 f. (just quoted above), where the sheaf-binders are singled out from the rest of humanity.

The general criticism of Quintus' work which we quoted at the outset (p. 27 above) is confirmed by our study of his time-designations. He was, above all, an imitator, and we have discovered numerous traces of his indebtedness to Homer both in his ideas and in his diction. The old mythology, though now somewhat jejune, is supreme, and the movement represented by Apollonius apparently has gone to seed.

CHAPTER VII

THE ARGONAUTICA OF "ORPHEUS"

The author and exact date of "Orpheus'" Argonautica are unknown, but it is commonly assigned to some Orphic enthusiast of the fourth century of our era who wrote after Quintus of Smyrna.¹ The Argonautica is a poor imitation of Apollonius' work in its main outlines. But our interest here is not in the condensation and bareness of the narrative or in the poor characterization but only in the time-designations. Most of the latter are, as we shall see, of the mythological type and recall Homer and the Homeric hymns in thought and often in phrasing as well.

I.

A. Dawn.--For example, see Argon. 366-68:

τῆμος δ' ἱερὸς ὄρθρος ἀπ' Ὠκεανοῦ βοᾶων
ἀντολίᾳς ἥνοιγεν, ἐπέσπετο δ' Ἡριγένεια
ἡδὺ φῶς θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι φέρουσα.

Here we have a designation of diluculum followed by Eos. Cf. Il. xix. 1 f. (quoted above, p. 12). ὄρθρος is not Homeric, but it occurs in Hesiod and the Homeric hymns. Homer, however, has κνέ-φας ἱερὸν (Il. xi. 194) and ἱερὸν ἥμαρ (Il. viii. 66), which would facilitate ἱερὸς ὄρθρος. Cf. ἀπ' Ὠκεανοῦ βοᾶων with Il. xix. 1

¹Christ-Schmid, Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur, II (6th ed.; Munich, 1924), 2, 983, "Jedenfalls nach Quintus von Smyrna." A. and M. Croiset, Histoire de la littérature grecque, V (Paris, 1899), 907, "La date approximative en a été fixée par Hermann au IV^e siècle, d'après l'étude de la langue et de la versification." E. Bethe, in Gercke and Norden's Einleitung, I (3d ed.; Berlin, 1927), Part III, 56, calls the author "ein Unbekannter des 3. oder 4. Jhs."

(see above) and Od. xii. 197 (παρ' Ὠκεανοῦ ῥοάων). The substantive use of Ἡριγένεια is Homeric (see lex.).

Another example is vss. 563 f.:

ἡ δὲ κατ' ὄρφναίῳ πόλου χρυσήνιος ἥως
ἀντολίας ἥνοιγεν, ἐδέχνυτο δ' οὐρανὸς ὄρθρον.

With ἀντολίας ἥνοιγεν cf. Argon. 367 (above). χρυσήνιος is applied to Artemis and Ares in Homer (Il. vi. 205 and Od. viii. 285); Pindar (frag. 37 Schröder) uses it of Hades; Sophocles (O.C. 693), of Aphrodite. Hence it was not a specific epithet, and here it occupies the same metrical position as the Homeric ῥοδοδάκτυλος, doubtless for variety.

B. Noon.--Noon is designated in the following way (649 f.):

ἀλλ' ὅτε πρὸς μεσάτην ἡὼ φέρεν ὠκείας ἵππους
ἥελιος.

Though the conception of the Sun as a charioteer is not Homeric, it is found, as we have already seen (p. 18 above), in the Hymns. And ὠκείας ἵππους is a Homeric formula.¹

C. Sunset.--Sunset is implied in 303 f.:

ἥμος δ' ἥελιος τὸν ἀπείριτον αἰθέρα τέμνων
ἵπποις ὠκυπόδεσσι κελαινὴν ἔντυε νύκτα.

Cf. Il. xxiii. 504, ἵπποις ὠκυπόδεσσιν.

Sunset is coupled with the rise of the moon in 512 f.:

ἀλλ' ὅτε γ' Ὠκεανοῦ ῥόον βαπτίζετο Τιτάν,
μήνην δ' ἀστροχίτων ἔπαγεν μελαναυγέα ὄρφνην.

The general idea of 512 is Homeric; see Il. xviii. 239 f. (p. 14 above). With μελαναυγέα cf. Eur. Hec. 153, νασμῷ μελαναυγεῖ.

Time just after midnight is designated in 1028:

Νῦξ δὲ τότε' ἀστροχίτων μέσσην παράμειβε πορείαν.

Other designations of this type may be found in 758:

¹ ὠκείας is found only with ἵππους in Homer. ὠκείας ἵππους occurs 20 times, always at the end of the verse, as here. In two other instances (Il. xiii. 535 f. and Il. xiv. 429 f.) we find ἵππους / ὠκείας . . .

δρῶριον, ἐρχομένης ἡοῦς ἐπ' ἀπείρονα κόσμον;

1049:

ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἀπ' ἀντολῆς ἐφάνη τερψίμβροτος ἥως

(cf. . . . τερψίμβροτου Ἡελίοιο in Od. xii. 269, 274, Hymn to Apollo 411); 1078:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δεκάτῃ ἐφάνη φαεσίμβροτος ἥως,

with which cf. Il. xiv. 785:

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτῃ ἐφάνη φαεσίμβροτος ἥως;

and, finally, 1105:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ἕκτῃ φαεσίμβροτος ἦλυθεν ἥως.

Cf. verse 1078 above. This shows a desire to vary the expression, since

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ἕκτῃ ἐφάνη φαεσίμβροτος ἥως

would have been possible.

One designation seems to waver between mythological personification and description, viz., 1246:

τῆμος δ' ἀντολίσαισιν ἐγείρετο φωσφόρος αἴγλη.

II.

A. Designations based on natural phenomena.--There is only one designation which seems definitely based on experience of natural phenomena, viz., 536 f.:

ἀλλ' ὅτε πρὸς μέσασιν νυκτὸς προὔβαινεν ἀταρπός,
ἄστρα τε τηλεφανῇ δύνεν ῥόδον ὤχεανοιο.

Otherwise, reflection of natural phenomena is confined to color-adjectives, and the latter are largely traditional. There are no time-designations based on human activities.

The anonymous author of the Argonautica, therefore, rejected the Apollonian time-designations based on observation of nature and man and in their stead used designations of the old Homeric type, enriching them slightly with imagery and diction derived from other sources.

CHAPTER VIII

NONNUS' DIONYSIACA

The precise date of Nonnus, like that of pseudo-Orpheus and of Quintus, is not known, but most authorities are convinced that the early part of the fifth century of our era best suits the evidence which we have.¹

The colossal work of Nonnus² is sui generis. There is much in it, to be sure, which recalls characteristics of Hellenistic literature,³ and if we knew more about the Greek mythological epics of the Empire, we should doubtless find anticipations of Nonnus' work.⁴ But although these considerations may qualify the absolute uniqueness of the Dionysiaca, enough peculiar features remain to excite the amazement⁵ or the scorn of the classi-

¹ See Bethe, op. cit., p. 56: "wohl erst im 5. Jh. n. Chr." Cf. Croiset, op. cit., V, 995: "Aucun témoignage ne nous permet d'assigner une date précise à la composition de son épopée. Mais comme les poètes de son école, particulièrement Kyros de Panopolis, appartiennent au milieu du Ve siècle, c'est sans doute dans les premières années de ce siècle que dut paraître l'œuvre dont ils ont subi l'influence." Cf. also Christ-Schmid, op. cit., p. 966, for a more cautious approach, which, however, leads to practically the same conclusion.

² In this chapter I propose to study only the Dionysiaca; the Paraphrase of St. John's Gospel belongs with the Christian epics and will be discussed at that point (see pp. 101 ff. below).

³ Cf. Bethe, op. cit., p. 56: "Die alexandrinische Erzählungstechnik mit ihren barocken Eigenheiten, ihre Stoffe und Metrik werden studiert und imitiert."

⁴ See U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, in Kultur der Gegenwart, I. 8 (3d ed.; Berlin, 1912), 287: "Auch Dionysiaka sind vor ihm [sc. Nonnus] noch in dieser Periode gedichtet, und seine Originalität wird überhaupt zum guten Teile auf Schein beruhen."

⁵ Croiset, op. cit., p. 998: "ses descriptions ... sont d'une richesse de détails étonnante."

cist. Bethe, e.g., describes Nonnus' poem as

an Umfang, Schwulst, Mangel an Komposition den Stilgesetzen seiner Muster ebenso untreu, wie in vielen Einzelheiten von ihnen abhängig, aber auch sie übertreibend, masslos in allem und ganz unfähig, plastisch zu gestalten, anschaulich zu schildern.¹

Wilamowitz, though recognizing that there is in the Dionysiaca a certain lack of organic connection with Hellenism, is more sympathetic.

Der Dichter ist offenbar innerlich ergriffen von dem dionysischen Taumel und steckt tief in dem Zauberwesen der Zeit; so führt er uns noch einmal all die Kinder der hellenischen Phantasie in einem letzten wilden Tanze vor, die strotzende Leiblichkeit der homerischen Götter und die Schemen der theologischen Abstraktionen, die vermenschlichten Sterne und Quellen und Bäume, auch die Helden der Tragödie und die sentimental Hirten der Bukolik. In der Disharmonie dieser Erscheinungen liegt ein ungesunder, aber darum nicht unwirksamer Reiz; bald reckt sich eines in ungeheure, gestaltlose Grösse, bald wirbelt eine chaotische Masse durcheinander, bald belauschen wir eine intime Szene in traulich menschlicher Enge. Man spürt wohl, dass es nicht mehr die lebendigen Wesen sind, sondern nur ihre für eine klassische Walpurgisnacht auferstandenen Schatten. Aber sie haben Blut getrunken, und für diese Nacht kosten sie den Becher der heissen Lebenslust bis auf die Neige.²

And his concluding remarks reveal his own theory of criticism:

Ein widernatürliches Kunstprodukt, kann man sagen; aber Kunstprodukt ist die Rede des Gregor und des Chrysostomos auch. Sie lehren alle, was die Kunst auch wider Natur und organische Entwicklung vermag, und erst die ästhetische Theorie kann wahrhaft befriedigen, die ihre Gesetze aus der Summe der Erscheinungen abstrahiert und keinem Dinge, das existiert, darum das Existenzrecht abstreift, weil es nach ihren Gesetzen nicht existieren dürfte.³

Turning now to Nonnus' time-designations, we shall find that the characteristics of the poem as a whole are present in them in parvo. Mythology is everywhere in the Dionysiaca, and the time-designations are nearly all mythological, at least in part. Designations based largely on experience of the natural world are infrequent, although natural phenomena supply many details in the mythological designations. As in the works of Quintus

¹ Op. cit., p. 56. ² Op. cit., p. 288. ³ Op. cit., p. 288.

Smyrnaeus and pseudo-Orpheus, designations based on human activities are almost completely lacking. These generalizations seem to indicate that, apart from his peculiar, exuberant diction, Nonnus resembles a poet like Quintus. In reality, Nonnus appears to have been an innovator in one important respect: he was the first epic poet who drew upon astronomical theory to a large degree for the content of time-designations. It is true that astronomical phenomena are utilized from Homer down. We have only to think of the many sunrises and sunsets in the preceding pages. But the astronomical phenomena that appear in epic time-designations before Nonnus are, with one exception (see p. 66 below) open to direct observation. In Nonnus, on the other hand, we shall find time-designations in which the earth's conical shadow, or umbra, is represented as the cause and sign of night.¹ Now this "cone of darkness" is not, like a sunrise, subject to direct human observation. Its existence, shape, and effects are a matter of scientific theory and experiment (e.g., with the shadows cast by the various solids). As a matter of fact, scientists had known about it for centuries before Nonnus' time;² but it was too remote from the experience of the average man and smacked too much of a mathematical lecture-room or an observatory, and doubtless this is one reason, apart from the inherent conservatism of epic tradition, that epic poets apparently had not appropriated it for time-designations. Be this as it may, Nonnus was rather fond of this particular bit of astronomical lore, and his use of

¹For a recent discussion of astronomical and, above all, astrological matters in Nonnus, see Viktor Stegemann, Astrologie und Universalgeschichte, Studien u. Interpretationen zu den Dionysiaka des Nonnos von Panopolis (Berlin, 1930).

²On the discovery of the phenomenon and references to it in Greek and Latin literature before and after Nonnus, see Appendix I (pp. 116 ff. below).

it enhances the peculiar effect of his time-designations.

I. Mythological Designations

A. Morning twilight.--The first example is xviii. 166 f.:

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥοδέοις ἀμαρύγμασιν ἄγγελος Ἡοῦς
ἀκροφαῖς ἐχάραξε λιπόσκιον ὄρθρος ὁμίχλην.

With it cf. xxvii. 86 f.:

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δροσεροῖο προάγγελος ἄρματος Ἡοῦς
ὄρθρος ἐρευθιδῶν ἀμαρύσσετο νύκτα χαράσσων.

ἄγγελος and προάγγελος seem to indicate a quasi-mythological personification of ὄρθρος.

B. Eos.--The designations of dawn are, as one might expect, more definitely mythological. See, e.g., xxiv. 123 f.:

ἀλλ' ὅτε φοινίσσοντι σέλας πέμπουσα προσώπῳ
ὁσμίνης προκείμευθος ἐκηβόλος ἄνθορεν Ἡώς.

Note especially φοινίσσοντι . . . προσώπῳ and ἄνθορεν. Another instance is xii. 136 f.:

ἀλλ' ὅτε χιονόπεξα χαραξαμένη ζόφον Ἡώς
ὄρθρον ἀμεργομένη δροσερῇ πορφύρετο πέτρῃ.

See also iii. 55-58:

ἀλλ' ὅτε πορφυρέοιο παρὰ πτερὸν αἴθερος Εὐρύου
ἄκρα χαρασσομένην ὑπὸ ῥωγάδα Τευκρίδος Ἰδης
ὄρθρον ἀποπτύουσα φάνη λιμενοσκόπος Ἡώς,
ἀντιπόρου μέλαν οἶμα καταυγάζουσα θαλάσσης.

This passage is interesting because the effects of dawn are localized, a feature which recalls passages in Apollonius' Argonautica (see p. 20 above). Another trace of Hellenistic influence may be discernible in the epithet applied to Eos, λιμενοσκόπος. Cf. Callimachus, frag. 114 (of Zeus), and Hymn to Artemis 259, and Anth. Pal. x. 25, where Antipater of Thessalonica applies it to Phoebus.

Finally, see xxxvi. 392 f.:

ὕπναλέων ἀπὸ λέκτρων
ἐγρομένους θώρηξεν ἀμοιβαίῃ πάλιν Ἡώς.

C. Sunrise.--One passage is so anthropomorphic that it is not quite clear whether the poet is thinking of sunrise at all and not simply of an amorous god, viz., xxxviii. 118-20:

ὀππότε φοινίσσοντος ὑπὲρ κέρας Ὠκεανοῦ,
ἔμπυρον Ἥῳισιν ἔδν δέμας ὕδασι λούων,
παρθένον ἀγκικέλευθον ἐσέδρακεν . . .

With this cf. xxxviii. 307-9:

ἦδη δὲ δροσδεῖς ἀμαρύσσετο φωσφόρος ἀστήρ,
καὶ φαέθων ἀνέτελλεν Ἐῷον ἄντυγα βαίνων,
ὕδασι παππῳοῖσι λελουμένος Ὠκεανοῦ.

Finally there is a passage designating daybreak which contains a variety of conceptions, viz., xxvii. 1-7:

ἄρτι δὲ λυσιπόνοιο τιναξαμένη πτερὸν Ὕπνου
ἀντολῆς ὤϊξε θύρας πολεμητόκος Ἥως,
καὶ κεφάλου λίπε λέκτρα σελασφόρα· βαλλόμενος δὲ
ἀντιπόρῳ φαέθοντι μέλας λευκαίνεται Γάγης.
καὶ φυγὰς ἀρτιχάρακτος ἐχάζετο κῶνος ὁμίχλης
σχιζόμενος φαέεσσιν· ἀπὸ δροσεροῦ δὲ δίφρου
ὄρθριος εἰαρινῇσιν ἐλούετο καρπὸς ἑέρσαις.

The idea involved in λυσιπόνοιο . . . Ὕπνου is as old as Homer; see p. 30 above and the refs. cited there. With ἀντολῆς . . . θύρας cf. pseudo-Orpheus Argon. 367 and 564 (pp. 34 f. above). With πολεμητόκος cf. Dion. xxxvi. 392 f. (p. 40 above); cf. also ii. 169, ἐγερσιμόθου φάος Ἥως. κεφάλου . . . λέκτρα seems to be an attempt to vary the age-old ἐκ λεχέων παρ' ἀγαυοῦ Τιθωνοῦ (p. 12 above). The fourth verse is another example of the localization mentioned above (p. 40). καὶ φυγὰς . . . φαέεσσιν will be commented upon later. ἀπὸ δροσεροῦ . . . ἑέρσαις is an interesting blend of mythological and natural elements.

D. Noon.--As a native of Egypt, Nonnus could appreciate the blazing noontide. To designate noon he depicts the fiery Sun lashing out with his dreadful whip, which makes the wayfarer tremble. See xxix. 299-301:

ὀππότε γαίης
ἦδ' ἄρ' ἔμμεσον ἀνέσχε, καὶ ἔτρεμε θερμὸς ὁδότης
αἴθοπος Ἥελίοιο μεσημβρίζουσιν ἱμάσθηλιν.

Cf. xlviii. 306-8:

ἡνίκα μέσσον ἔην φλογερὸν θέρος, ἡνίκα πάλλων
καρχαλέης πυρόεντα μεσημβρινὸν ἦχον ἱμάσθλης
Ἡέλιος σελάγιζε λεοντείων ἐπὶ νώτων.¹

Cf. also x. 141 f.:

. . . ὠσιπόρου δὲ
φεύγων Ἡελίοιο μεσημβρίζουσιν ἱμάσθλην.

E. Sunset and nightfall.--The traditional conception is not wanting. See xxxvi. 151:

μη̄ φαέθων στρέψειε πυραυγέας εἰς δύσιν Ἴππους.

See also xxv. 568-70:

τοῖσι δὲ τερπομένοισι δύσιν διεμέτρεεν Ἡώς,
φέγγος ἀναστείλασα πυριγλήνοιο προσώπου
καὶ σκιερὴν ἐμέλαινεν ὅλην χθόνα σιγαλήη Νύξ.

D. 11. 163-67 is more elaborate:

. . . φαέθων δὲ πόλον δινωτὸν ἔασας
εἰς δύσιν ἔτραπε δίφρον· ἀναθρώσκουσα δὲ γαίης
ὠσιτενῆς ἄτε κῶνος ἐς ἡέρα σιγαλήη Νύξ
οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντι διεχλαίνωσε χιτῶνι,
αἰθέρα δαιδάλλουσα.

φαέθων . . . δίφρον is conventional. Then we have Night spring-
ing from the earth like a cone and clothing the sky with a chiton
full of stars. With the latter idea cf. pseudo-Orpheus Argon.
513 and 1028 (p. 35 above). On the comparison of Night with a
cone comment will be made later.

Another passage combines elements derived from observa-
tion of nature with mythology, viz., xviii. 155-61:

Ἑσπερίην χθόνα πᾶσαν ὑπόσκιος ἔσκεπεν ὄρφνη
ἀκροκελαινιώσα, καὶ αἰόλα φέγγει λεπτῷ
ἄστρα καταυγάζων ἐμελαίνετο δίχροος ἄηρ,
δυομένου φαέθοντος ὑπὸ σκιοειδέϊ κῶνῳ,
βαίδῳ ὀπισθοκέλευθον ἔχων ἔτι λείψανόν ῥοῦς·
καὶ ζόφον ἐχλαίνωσεν ἐφ' ἡροῖ σιγαλήη νύξ
οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντι διαγράψασα χιτῶνι.

With φέγγει λεπτῷ cf. Ap. Rh. ii. 670 f. (p. 22 above) on the

¹ On the meaning of this last phrase see V. Stegemann, op.
cit., p. 48.

morning twilight. With the last two verses cf. Dion. ii. 165 f. (p. 42).

Other mythological passages are iii. 18, 51; xxxiii. 225; and xxxiv. 98.

A possible use of star-mythology as a time-designation occurs in v. 121 f.:

καὶ γαμίοις θαλάμοισι φέρων νυμφοστόλον ὄρην
'Αρκτῆς ἀνέτελλε Δράκων ὁμόφοιτος Ἀμάξης.

But this is not a good example, since it is, in part at least, astrological, and it is closely connected with the context.¹

II.

A. Designations Based on Natural Phenomena

Time-designations based mainly on man's experience of natural phenomena are not common, and since Nonnus inclines to mythology, there is justification for classifying some doubtful examples as mythological. This is the case, e.g., with xxxviii. 8-10, for we have already noted a quasi-personification of ὄρθρος (see p. 40):

εἰσόκεν ὄρθρος ἔλαμψε σελασφόρος, ἀρτιφανὲς δὲ
ἀμφοτέροισι ἀνέτελλε γαληναίης φάος Ἥοῦς,
'Ινδοῖς καὶ Σατύροισιν.

1. Eos.--See iii. 61:

ἦδη δ' ἔκλαγεν ὄρνις ἑώιος ἡέρα τέμνων.

The bird-cries at dawn are mentioned in Greek literature at least as early as Euripides' time (see the opening of the Ion), but this seems to be the first use of them in epic poetry as a means of designating time. (To be sure, ἑώιος by itself would be sufficient for this purpose.)

2. Sunrise.--Two very simple designations may be found in

¹See Stegemann, op. cit., p. 99.

11. 244, ἡελίου δὲ φανέντος, and xxxv. 257, ἀλλ' ὅτε φέγγος ἔλαμψε.

3. Noontide.--See xlviii. 258:

. . . διψαλέοιο πυραυγέι καύματος ὥρη.

4. Evening star.--Nonnus twice mentions the appearance of the evening star as putting an end to the day's fighting. See xxiv. 166 f.:

ἦδη δ' ἀχλυόεις τέταται ζόφος· ἀγχιφανῆς δὲ
δῆριν ἀναστέλλων ἀμαρύσσεται Ἑσπερος ἀστήρ.

Cf. xxix. 323 f.:

τοῖσι δὲ μαρναμένοισιν ἐπήλυθεν Ἑσπερος ἀστήρ,
λύων Ἰνδοφόνοιο θεμείλια δηιοτήτος.

See also xx. 23 f.:

τοῖσι δὲ τερπομένοισιν ἀνέδραμεν Ἑσπερος ἀστήρ
φέγγος ἀναστείλας χοροτερπέος ἡριγενείης.

5. Nightfall.--See xxxvi. 391:

ἀμφοτέρους δ' ἀνέκοψε μάχης ἀμφίδρομος ὄρφη.

See also xxxv. 253:

. . . ὅτε μὲν ζόφος εἶχεν ἀγυιάς,

with which cf. Hom. Od. ii. 388 (p. 14 above). Finally, there is a passage which involves the earth's umbra, namely, vii. 309-11:

ἀλλ' ὅτε οἱ σπεύδοντι χαμαιγενὲς ἄλμα τιταίνων
ἀκροτενῆς περίμετρος ἀνέδραμε κῶνος ὁμίχλης,
δυομένης ζόφον ὕγρὸν ἄγων ἀντίσκιον Ἥους.

For comment on details of this and other passages involving the umbra, see below, pp. 46 f.

B. Designations Based on Human Activities

There is no time-designation in the Dionysiaca that is based wholly on human activities. But there is one description of night into which the human element enters, viz., xxxiii. 266-79:

ἦδη γὰρ σκιδέοντι θοράων αὐτόχθονι παλμῷ
ἄψοφος ἀννεφέλοιο μελαίνετο κῶνος ὁμίχλης,
καὶ τρομερῇ εὐμπαντα μίῃ εὐνώσε σιωπῇ·
οὐδέ τις ἶχνος ἔπειγε δὴ' ἄστεος Ἰνδὸς ὁδίτης,
οὐδέ γυνὴ χερνήτης ἐθήμονος ἤπτετο τέχνης,
οὐδέ οἱ ἐν παλάμῃσι φιληλακάτῳ παρὰ λύχνῳ

κύκλον ἐς αὐτοέλικτον ἰδὼν ἔτρακτος ἀλήτης
 ἄστατος ὀρχηστῆρι τιταίνεται νήματος ὀλκῷ,
 ἀλλὰ κρηβαρέουσα φιλαγρύπῳ παρὰ λύχνῳ
 εὐδε γυνὴ ταλαεργός· ὅφισ δὲ τις ἥσυχος ἔρπων
 κείτο πεσών, κεφαλῇ δ' ἐρύων παλινάγρετον οὐρὴν
 γαστέρος ὑπναλέης ἀνεσεύρασεν ὀλκὸν ἀκάνθησ·
 καὶ τις ἀερσιπρόθη ἐλέφας παρὰ γείτονι τοίχῳ
 ὀρθιον ὕπνον ἴαυεν, ὑπὸ δρυὶ νῶτον ἐρείσας.

This striking passage, as has been noted before,¹ is reminiscent of Apollonius' Argon. iii. 744 ff. (p. 25 above). This is true, although the structure and details of the two passages are not quite the same. Apollonius begins with a general description of night, proceeds to specific details, of which Nonnus retains only the ὀδίτης, and then returns to the larger background with σιγὴ δὲ μελαινομένην ἔχεν ὄρφνην. Nonnus, too, begins with a rather elaborate description of the general background (vss. 1-3); then he gives a series of details, (a) the wayfarers, (b) the spinning-woman, (c) the drowsy snakes, and (d) the slumbering elephants. With this last detail he closes, and there is no return to the general setting. Vss. 270-75 may have been suggested by Apoll. Rh. iv. 1062 ff. and iii. 291 ff.; cf. Hom. Il. xii. 433 ff. An epigram by Antipater of Sidon (A. P. vi. 160) has the phrase φιλάλῃακατον καλαθίσκον; this epigram contains other words found in the passage of Nonnus. Meleager (A. P. v. 196. 3 f.) uses φιλάγρυπνον / λύχνον in an erotic setting. The Nonnus passage, therefore, is decidedly Hellenistic, and the detailed pictures of the snakes and of the elephants leaning against the trees, though not inappropriate in an Indian setting, reveal that straining for effect which we noticed in Apollonius.

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¹E.g., by Paul Collart, Nonnos de Panopolis, Etudes sur la composition et le texte des Dionysiaques (Cairo, 1930), p. 195.

I now turn to a consideration of the passages in the Dionysiaca (ii. 165; vii. 310; xviii. 158; xxvii. 5; xxxiii. 267; and xxxviii. 254) in which the earth's umbra is mentioned.¹ They have several features in common, and it would have been useless to discuss each passage as it occurred.

Stegemann gives a convenient definition of the κῶνος:

Der κῶνος ζοφοειδής ist der Erdschatten im Weltenraum, welcher sich von der Sonnenbahn abgewandt in gleicher Bewegung und Richtung wie die Sonne in einem Abstände von 180° um die Erde als Mittelpunkt des Kreises bewegt. Die beschattete Stelle bedeutet auf der Erde bekanntlich die Nacht.²

The umbra, then, is always at an angle of 180° from the sun, and the direct rays of the sun are completely excluded from the dark cone, although some light may enter it because of refraction due to the earth's atmosphere.

Nonnus likes to call attention to the scientific fact that it is the earth's shadow that produces night. See vii. 309 χαμαιγενές, xxxiii. 266 αὐτόχθονι; cf. ii. 164 γαίης, even where Night is merely compared with a cone. Other characteristics mentioned are the size of the cone (ii. 165 ὑπιτενής, vii. 310 περίμετρος), its shape (vii. 310 ἀκροτενής; it is, of course, a cone in every passage), color (vii. 310 and xxvii. 5 κῶνος ὀμίχλης, xviii. 158 σκιοειδέϊ κώνῳ, xxxiii. 267 μελαίνετο κῶνος ὀμίχλης, xxxviii. 254 ζοφοειδέα κῶνον, and Paraph. vi. 62 σκιδέις . . . κῶνος), and silent movement (xxxiii. 267 ἄψοφος). The clearest evidence that we are dealing with a display of scientific learning is in xxxiii. 267 ἀννεφέλοιο . . . κῶνος ὀμίχλης. Here Nonnus seems to go out of his way to show that he knows that night is not due to condensed ἀήρ or some sort of exhalation from the earth.³

¹For the sake of completeness I include Nonn. Paraph. vi. 62.

²Op. cit., p. 42.

³See Appendix I.

In two or three instances Nonnus seems to depart from a scientifically accurate conception of the umbra. See, e.g., xxvii. 5 f., where the umbra is described as split by the rays of the morning sun. This, of course, could not happen if the cone keeps moving at the same rate as the sun, and it is unlikely that Nonnus had a theory of refraction in mind. It is more likely that he departs from scientific accuracy for poetic effect. Cf. iii. 18, in this connection.

In xviii. 158 the Sun sets ὑπὸ . . . κώνω. I think that the preposition here means "at the coming of" or "under the effect of." This may involve "putting the cart before the horse" but it keeps this passage in harmony with the others.

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Such are Nonnus' time-designations. Mythology is supreme, as it is in Quintus Smyrnaeus and pseudo-Orpheus, but with it, in an odd manner, bits of natural science are interwoven. This combination gives Nonnus' designations a bizarre effect that we do not feel in the other two poets, and this effect is, of course, enhanced by Nonnus' diction.

CHAPTER IX

LATIN EPIC POETRY BEFORE VERGIL

Latin epic poetry began with Livius Andronicus' translation of the Odyssey, and presumably it was then that the conventional time-designations of Greek epic became part of the Latin poetic tradition. Unfortunately, the fragments of Livius' work do not enable us to say just how he reproduced his Homeric models. The situation is the same in the case of Naevius' Bellum Punicum. It would, e.g., be interesting to see to what extent Naevius used mythological designations in his versified chronicle; but the fragments give us no information.

Both Livius and Naevius used the Saturnian meter, so that, although their time-designations doubtless influenced the content of those in subsequent Latin epic poetry, they could not have exercised a great formative effect upon the diction and phraseology of poets who wrote in dactylic hexameters. It is Ennius who was the real father of Latin epic poetry and who remained a living influence until Vergil superseded him. Apparently, the Ennian time-designations were part of this influence. We are still able to find traces of them in Vergil himself. E.g., compare Verg.

Aen. xii. 114 f.:

cum primum alto se gurgite tollunt
Solis equi lucemque elatis naribus efflant

with vs. 600 (V) of the Annales:

. . . funduntque elatis naribus lucem.

From this fragment of Ennius, moreover, we learn that the content of his time-designations was not exclusively Homeric, for, as we

have observed several times above, the Sun is not a charioteer in Homer. The chariot of the Sun does, however, appear in Greek tragedy, and it is likely that Ennius got his figure from Euripides.¹ Cf. also Aen. xi. 201 f.:

. . . nox umida donec
invertit caelum stellis ardentibus aptum

with Ennius Ann. 339 (V):

hinc Nox processit stellis ardentibus apta
and Ann. 29 (V):

qui caelum versat stellis fulgentibus aptum.

Finally, cf. Aen. ii. 250:

vertitur interea caelum et ruit Oceano nox

with Ann. 211 (V):

vertitur interea caelum cum ingentibus signis.²

Such comparisons make us realize the extent to which Vergil was indebted to Ennius for the content and style of his time-designations and deepen our regret that the work of Ennius has perished so that detailed knowledge of its influence is bound to be largely conjectural.

In Ann. 89-92 (V) we have a designation of daybreak that seems to be based on natural phenomena:

interea sol albus recessit in infera noctis.
exin candida se radiis dedit icta foras lux,
et simul ex alto, longe pulcherrima praepes,
laeva volavit avis; simul aureus exoritur sol.

Another designation of daybreak is derived partly from observation of nature and partly from early astronomical theory (211 f. [V]):

¹See, e.g., refs. given by Conington and Nettleship ad Aen. xii. 115.

²E. Norden, Aeneis Buch VI (3d ed.; Berlin, 1926), p. 375, thinks that some phrase of Ennius underlies Cicero frag. 30,2 Iuppiter . . . lustravit lumine terras and Verg. Aen. iv. 6 Phoebea lustrabat lampade terras (sc. Aurora).

vertitur interea caelum cum ingentibus signis.
ut primum tenebris abiectis indalbabat.¹

For a naturalistic designation of sunset see vs. 434 f.:

. . . interea fax
occidit oceanumque rubra tractim obruit aethra.

The use of fax may indicate Greek background. Cf. the use of λαμπάς, etc. in Greek. See, e.g., Soph. Ant. 879 f.; Eur. Ion 1467; Rhes. 59 f. Other designations are mythological. See, e.g., vs. 600 (quoted above). See also vs. 167 (V):

bellum aequis manibus nox intempesta diremit,
which is at least quasi-mythological, and vs. 339 (see above). There is no trace of Homeric influence in these passages,² but when we recall how inadequate the evidence is, we realize that generalization about the content of Ennian time-designations is impossible.

Mythological and historical epics were written between Ennius and Vergil, but they, too, exist only in fragments. For example, we find a time-designation of purely mythological content in Furius' annalistic poem on the Gallic war (cf. the usage of Silius Italicus in a later period):

interea oceani linquens Aurora cubile.³

Obviously it was inspired directly or indirectly by Homer, Od. v. 1 f., and it was in turn imitated by Vergil.⁴ Again, the eighth

¹Th. Bergk, in Kleine philologische Schriften, I (Halle, 1884), 308, claimed that Achilles Statius forged Ennius Ann. 212 (V) on the basis of Apuleius Met. vii. 1 init. E. Norden, in Ennius und Vergilius (Berlin, 1915), p. 78, n. 2, follows Bergk. Fr. Leo, however, expresses no doubt as to its authenticity in his Geschichte der röm. Literatur (Berlin, 1913), p. 175.

²Cf. Leo, Gesch. d. röm. Lit., p. 174 f.: "Dem Sonnenauf- und untergange gibt er, wie es die modernen Griechen taten, statt der homerischen Formeln besondere Färbung."

³Frag. 7 (F. P. L.; Morel).

⁴W. Kroll, Studien zum Verständnis der röm. Literatur (Stuttgart, 1924), pp. 151 f.

fragment of the Argonautica of Varro of Atax is a designation based on human experience:

desierant latrare canes urbesque silebant;
omnia noctis erant placida composta quiete.

This is simply an adaptation of Apoll. Rh. iii. 749 f. (quoted above, p. 25).

We know very little, therefore, about time-designations in pre-Augustan epic poetry, but that little is enough to assure us that the Latin poets took over the types of designation that the Greeks had developed and continued them.¹ There is no evidence that they created new types. Finally, we have observed that later Latin poets drew upon their predecessors for ideas and phraseology.

Lucretius' De rerum natura, though not an epic, deserves our momentary consideration before we pass on to Vergil, because the time-designations contained in it clearly reflect the personality of the author. Apparently only one of them is mythological, viz., v. 656 f.:

tempore item certo roseam Matuta per oras
aetheris auroram differt et lumina pandit.

It is noteworthy that aurora is here simply "dawn" and not a goddess; the old Roman Matuta has taken the place of Tithonus' bride. Another designation which may be quasi-mythological is v. 976:

dum rosea face sol inferret lumina caelo.²

The remaining designations are, I believe, all based on experience

¹ With the possible exception of the type based on human activities. Probably, however, chance is responsible for the absence of this type in the fragments.

² With rosea face cf. Enn. Ann. 434 f. and Sc. 280 (Medea Exul), Sol, qui candentem in caelo sublimat facem. (See p. 50 above.) Ernout (ad Lucr. v. 976) suggests that rosea is borrowed from Greek poetry. Ultimately, doubtless, this is true, but Lucr. may have got the phrase from Ennius, though this cannot be proved.

of natural phenomena. Lucretius, as has often been remarked,¹ was an eager and close observer of nature, and this interest is manifest in such passages as v. 461-63:

aurea cum primum gemmantis rore per herbas
matutina rubent radiati lumina solis
exhalantque lacus nebulam fluviique perennes,

and ii. 144-46:

primum aurora novo cum spargit lumine terras
et variae volucres nemora avia pervolitantes
aera per tenerum liquidis loca vocibus opplent.

See also vi. 864:

hoc ubi roriferis terram nox obruit umbris.

Other passages of the same type are vi. 869; iv. 208; and v. 650.

¹On Lucretius' attitude toward nature see, e.g., Katharine Allen, op. cit., pp. 143-87, and W. Y. Sellar, The Roman Poets of the Republic (3d ed.; Oxford, 1905), pp. 397 ff.

CHAPTER X

VERGIL'S AENEID

Homer was Vergil's principal model in the composition of the Aeneid, and the time-designations of the poem reveal this quite as clearly as its larger features. Critics have called attention to the large number of repeated lines and phrases in the Aeneid, which is generally assumed to indicate an effort on Vergil's part to reproduce the formulaic style of Homer.¹

¹On such repetitions see E. Albrecht, "Wiederholte Verse und Vertheile bei Vergil," in Hermes, XVI (1881), 393-444. See especially p. 432:

"Aber auffällig ist doch, dass bei keinem römischen Dichter so viele vom Verfasser selbst herrührende Repetitionen begegnen wie hier. Dafür muss ein besonderer Grund vorliegen und dieser findet sich, meine ich, am leichtesten in der bewussten Anlehnung Vergils an Homer."

See also M. Parry, "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making," in HSCP, XLI (1930), 116:

"The number [of repeated phrases in Virgil] is high, but it shows only two things. The phrases from the Eclogues and Georgics are a measure of the endless care which Virgil gave to his style, and of the need he felt of using again some of the best expressions he had made in his earlier years. The repetitions found in the Aeneid show this also, but far more they show that he was trying to make a poem like Homer's."

The view represented in these two quotations is sharply challenged by J. Sparrow in Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil (Oxford, 1931). See especially pp. 85-87, where the author lists the time-designations of the Aeneid and adds:

"When the rarity of the occasions where Virgil uses identical or nearly identical lines to describe events described in Homer by 'epic repetition' is contrasted with the great number of occasions where he uses subtly and elaborately varied lines in similar contexts, then it is difficult to resist the conclusion that Virgil, so far from imitating, actually did his best to avoid, Homeric repetition."

Sparrow has done well to call attention to the variety in the Vergilian time-designations, but the validity of his conclusion is open to grave doubt. Vergil's technique cannot be judged in vacuo; we must compare it with that of epic poets who preceded him, so far as that is still possible. It is possible in the case of Apollonius Rhodius. Now if we compare the time-designations of the Argonautica and those of the Aeneid, the latter are plainly

It is interesting, therefore, to observe that the Vergilian time-designations are full of such repetitions. Detailed discussion of them belongs to a general treatment of stereotyped phraseology in epic time-designations as a whole. However, a few examples will not be out of place here. One has already been cited (see p. 2 above). For other repetitions of entire verses see Aen. iv. 129 = xi. 1 (a reproduction of Iliad xix. 1) and Aen. iii. 589 = iv. 7. For the way in which phrases recur see Aen. vii. 148 f.:

postera cum prima lustrabat lampade terras
orta dies.

With vs. 148 cf. Aen. iv. 6:

postera Phoebea lustrabat lampade terras,

while orta dies recurs in xii. 114. Or cf. Aen. iv. 119:

extulerit Titan radiisque retexerit orbem

and Aen. v. 65:

more repetitious and formulaic than the former. Moreover, if we consider not only the form but the contents of the time-designations of the two poems, we are again struck by the variety of the Greek designations and the uniformity of Vergil's, even when the form of the Vergilian designations varies from passage to passage. This twofold uniformity of form and content cannot be attributed to the lack of final revision of the Aeneid (except in minor details); it must be attributed, as Albrecht and Parry attribute it, to a deliberate attempt on Vergil's part to reproduce the epic style of Homer with due regard to the changes in literary taste that had developed during the centuries after Homer.

Albrecht, no less than Sparrow, recognizes the subtle variety in Vergil and explains it in the light of the altered standards of Vergil's literary environment:

"Dass Vergil nun bei weitem nicht so viele Repetitionen hat wie Homer, ist aus dem Umstande, dass er als Kunstdichter eine zu grosse Ausdehnung dieser Eigenthümlichkeit vermeiden musste, leicht erklärlich" (op. cit., p. 432).

Finally, Preiswerk (op. cit., p. 103 f.) shows a true appreciation of Vergil's object:

"Trotz der Pracht der vergilischen Verse muss man es beklagen, dass der römische Dichter wieder zur Mythologie und zur Stilisierung zurückkehrt, nachdem schon Euripides [I should prefer to say Apollonius] es verstanden hatte, die Morgenstimmung wirklichkeitstreu und zeitgemäss und dabei doch dichterisch wiederzugeben. Aber der Römer will eben seine Leser in den Märchenglanz der Vorzeit zurückversetzen, und seine Morgenbezeichnungen gehören zur Ausdrucksweise des Heldenliedes."

Aurora extulerit radiisque retexerit orbem.

Repetition on the formal side is accompanied by uniformity of content. In the case of formal repetition this is inevitable. But it is equally apparent in instances where the content is similar though the form varies. See, e.g., Aen. vii. 25 f.:

iamque rubescebat radiis mare et aethere ab alto
Aurora in roseis fulgebat lutea bigis

and Aen. xii. 76 f.:

. . . cum primum crastina caelo
puniceis invecta rotis Aurora rubebit.

The thought of these passages, mutatis mutandis, is the same except for the detail about the sea in the first.

I. Mythological Designations

In view of this attempt on Vergil's part to reproduce the style and effect of the Homeric time-designations, it is natural that their content should be very largely mythological. On the other hand, Vergil does not hesitate to enrich the Homeric mythology with details derived from the post-Homeric epics of Greece.

A. Lucifer.--For the morning star as a designation of time see Aen. ii. 801:

iamque iugis summae surgebat Lucifer Idae,
where the localization is noteworthy.

B. Dawn.--Vergil, like Homer, begins the day with the appearance of Aurora (Eos). Several mythological designations of dawn have already been cited to illustrate the repetition of lines and phrases (pp. 54 f.). In addition, see Aen. iii. 521:

iamque rubescebat stellis Aurora fugatis,
with which cf. Aen. v. 42 f.:

postera cum primo stellas Oriente fugarat
clara dies.

Finally, see Aen. xi. 182 f.:

Aurora interea miseris mortalibus aliam
extulerat lucem, referens opera atque labores.¹

C. Sunrise.--The Sun appears as a charioteer in xii. 113-

15:

postera vix summos spargebat lumine montis
orta dies, cum primum alto se gurgite tollunt
sclis equi lucemque elatis naribus efflant.

On the sources of this passage see pp. 48 f. above. With it cf.

Aen. v. 104 f.:

expectata dies aderat nonamque serena
Auroram Phaethontis equi iam luce vehebant.²

See also Aen. iv. 118 f.:

ubi primos crastinus ortus
extulerit Titan radiisque retexerit orbem.

D. Noon.--There is one designation of noon which may be
mythological, Aen. viii. 97:

sol medium caeli conscenderat igneus orbem.

E. Afternoon.--Time past noon is designated in Aen. vi.
535 f.:

hac vice sermonum roseis Aurora quadrigis
iam medium aethereo cursu traiecerat axem.

The substitution of Aurora for the Sun in the designation of this
part of the day reflects Hellenistic rather than Homeric usage.

Cf. ἥως = ἥμαρ.

F. Sunset.--See Aen. xi. 913 f.:

ni roseus fessos iam gurgite Phoebeus Hiberno
tinguat equos noctemque die labante reducat.

¹A detailed discussion of the relation of time-designations to their context, i.e., the contribution which they may make to the ethos of the passage they introduce, lies outside the scope of this investigation. For a discussion of this and other time-designations of the Aeneid from this point of view, see R. Heinze, Virgils epische Technik (3d ed.; Leipzig, 1928), pp. 366-69.

²Note that nonam tends to depersonalize Auroram. Since, too, the goddess precedes the Sun, I think it is better to write auroram and translate "morning." There is a similar difficulty in Aen. iv. 6 f.; see Conington ad loc.

devexo interea propior fit Vesper Olympos.

nox umida donec
invertit caelum stellis ardentibus aptum,

ubi caelum condidit umbra
Iuppiter et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.

et Nox atra polum bigis subvecta tenebat.

neq̃dum orbem medium Nox Horis acta subibat.

iamque fere mediam caeli Nox umida metam
contigerat.

. . . torquet medios Nox umida cursus,
et me saevus equis Oriens adflavit anhelis.

In addition to personified Night we find Phoebe, who like-

wise is represented as driving a chariot. See Aen. x. 215 f.:

iamque dies caelo concesserat almaque curru
noctivago Phoebe medium pulsabat Olympum.

II.

A. Designations Based on Natural Phenomena

1. Dawn and sunrise.--In accordance with Homeric usage, designations of dawn and sunrise are, for the most part, mythological. Designations based on natural phenomena, though not unknown, are usually very simple and, so to speak, incidental. See, e.g., Aen. viii. 59:

surge age, nate dea, primisque cadentibus astris;

Aen. vi. 255:

ecce autem primi sub lumina solis et ortus;

Aen. x. 256 f.:

. . . interea revoluta rubebat
matura iam luce dies noctemque fugarat.

Cf. Aen. iv. 586; viii. 68 f., 170; ix. 461; xi. 210.

One designation mentions the bird-cries of morning, viz.,

Aen. viii. 455 f.:

Euandrum ex humili tecto lux suscitāt alma
et matutini volucrum sub culmine cantus.¹

2. Sunset.--See Aen. iii. 508:

sol ruit interea et montes umbrantur opaci.

3. Night, midnight, etc.--There are several designations of night and parts of the night that are based on natural phenomena, e.g., the rising or setting stars, the setting moon, and, above all, the peace and repose of all living things. The last is introduced several times to set off, by contrast, the restless,

¹ On the relation of this passage to its context, see Heinze, loc. cit.

anxious wakefulness of some character in the poem--a device dear to Hellenistic poets,¹ though not unknown to Homer himself.² It is interesting to note the large amount of repetition in the designations of this particular type.

See Aen. iv. 461:

. . . nox cum terras obscura teneret;

Aen. iv. 351 f.:

quotiens umentibus umbris
nox operit terras, quotiens astra ignea surgunt;

Aen. ii. 8 f.:

et iam nox umida caelo
praecipitat suadentque cadentia sidera somnos;

and Aen. iv. 80 f.:

lumenque obscura vicissim
luna premit suadentque cadentia sidera somnos.

References to the animate world appear in the following: Aen.

iii. 147:

nox erat, et terris animalia somnus habebat;

Aen. viii. 26 f.:

nox erat, et terras animalia fessa per omnis
alituum pecudumque genus sopor altus habebat;

Aen. ix. 224 f.:

cetera per terras omnis animalia somno
laxabant curas et corda oblita laborum;

and Aen. iv. 522-28:

nox erat, et placidum carpebant fessa soporem
corpora per terras, silvaeque et saeva quierant
aequora, cum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu,
cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes pictaeque volucres,
quaeque lacus late liquidos quaeque aspera dumis
rura tenent, somno positae sub nocte silenti
lenibant curas, et corda oblita laborum.

The fact that it is midnight appears only in medio (vs. 524).

¹See, e.g., Apoll. Rh. iii. 744 ff. (quoted above, p. 25) and Theocr. ii. 38 ff.

²See Homer Il. ii. 1 ff.

B. Designations Based on Human Activities

There are only two designations of this type in the Aeneid.

The first (ii. 268 f.) designates the time of the prima quies:

tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus aegris
incipit et dono divom gratissima serpit.

The second (viii. 407-13), borrowed in part from Apollonius (iii. 744 ff.), is more elaborate:

inde ubi prima quies medio iam Noctis abactae
curriculo expulerat somnum, cum femina primum,
cui tolerare colo vitam tenuique Minerva
impositum, cinerem et sopitos suscitât ignes,
noctem addens operi, famulasque ad lumina longo
exercet penso, castum ut servare cubile
coniugis et possit parvos educere natos.

Note that the time is really defined in the first one and a half verses, while the remaining verses are a poetic amplification.

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Vergil, then, strove to reproduce the effect of the Homeric time-designations by emphasizing the mythological type and, further, by constant repetition of verses and parts of verses. That some of his periphrases do not accord with the time indicated by the context¹ is, in my opinion, due to this formalizing tendency. Whatever his debt to Apollonius may be in other features of the Aeneid, Vergil is not appreciably indebted to him in his time-designations, which seem unaffected by the movement which we noted in discussing the Argonautica.

¹See E. Norden, Aeneis, Buch VI (3d ed.), on vs. 539. See also U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Homerische Untersuchungen (Berlin, 1884), p. 117, n. 4, referred to by Norden ad loc. cit.

